

To picture and to perform: the image of the Eucharistic Liturgy at Markov Manastir (I)*

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This paper presents and interprets the iconographic programme of the frescoes in the lowest register of the sanctuary in the church of St Demetrios at Markov Manastir in the context of the relationship between mural decoration and the contemporary Eucharistic rite. In the first part of the paper special attention is paid to the scene in the north pastophorion, which illustrates the prothesis rite, and the depiction of the Great Entrance, placed in the sanctuary apse. The iconographic and programmatic features of the fresco ensemble, the most prominent place among which is occupied by the representations of the deceased Saviour and Christ the Great Archpriest – are compared to various liturgical sources and visual analogies (monumental painting and liturgical textiles) in the medieval art of Serbia and Byzantium.

Keywords: the church of St Demetrios at Markov Manastir, prothesis rite, Great Entrance, Christ the Great Archpriest, Deceased Saviour, aër, epitaphios, iconography, Late Byzantine painting.

The lowest register of the sanctuary of the church of St Demetrios at Markov Manastir reveals a close relationship between liturgical rites and the painted programme:¹ not only that the iconographic novelties introduced in Eucharistic themes in the fourteenth century were adopted, but a coherent whole was created which sought to illustrate the sequence of rites performed during the Divine Liturgy through images and texts on the liturgical scrolls carried by bishops. Special attention was paid to the scene in the prothesis, which illustrated the prothesis (*prosko-*

media) rite, and the depiction of the Great Entrance, placed in the sanctuary apse.

The prothesis rite

The central section of the scene in the prothesis is placed in the niche and it depicts the prothesis rite (fig. 1).² The deceased Christ is lying prostrate upon the stone slab that evokes his tomb with his hands resting on the abdomen. The naked body of the Saviour is covered with a large veil, embroidered with a cross and an asterisk, while on the right side, a red wound is marked and a lance is depicted a little lower, at the place where the arm bends at the elbow. The altar is surmounted by a ciborium with a hanging lamp suspended from its vault. The prothesis rite is performed by three bishops and one deacon. The niche, above the body of Jesus Christ, features the images of St Peter of Alexandria and Archdeacon Stephen, while the remaining two bishops, St Athanasios of Alexandria (fig. 2) and an unknown bishop, shown in semi-profile,³ turned towards the figures in the niche, are depicted on the north wall of the prothesis. Next to Christ's head stands St Peter of Alexandria, *πῆτρος*, an old man with grey curly hair falling on his neck and a short wavy beard, wearing the recognizable mitre – an insignia of Alexandrian patriarchs.⁴ In his hands, he is holding a scroll

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¹ Among the numerous studies on the subject, v. especially H. Belting, *An image and its function in the liturgy: The man of sorrows in Byzantium*, DOP 34–35 (1980–1981) 1–16; Ch. Walter, *Art and ritual of the Byzantine church*, London 1982; S. Gerstel, *Beholding the sacred mysteries: programs of the Byzantine sanctuary*, Seattle–London 1999; M. Altripp, *Liturgie und Bild in byzantinischen Kirchen. Korrespondenzen und Divergenzen*, in: *Bildlichkeit und Bildorte von Liturgie: Schauplätze in Spätantike, Byzanz und Mittelalter*, ed. R. Warland, Wiesbaden 2002, 115–124; *Ritual and art: Byzantine essays for Christopher Walter*, ed. P. Armstrong, London 2006; N. P. Ševčenko, *Art and liturgy in the later Byzantine Empire*, in: *The Cambridge history of Christianity*, 5: *Eastern Christianity*, ed. M. Angold, New York 2006, 127–153; *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les églises d'Orient et d'Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge): actes du séminaire tenu à Paris*, 2, eds. N. Bériou, B. Caseau, D. Rigaux, Paris 2009.

² V. J. Đurić, *Vizantijske freske u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1975, 81; R. Hamann-Mac Lean, *Grundlegung zu einer Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, Giessen 1976, 154–155. The fresco is discussed in detail in: C. Grozdanov, *Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira*, Zograf 11 (1980) 83–84. V. also Ch. Kōnstantinidē, *Ο Μελισμός: οι συλλειτουργούντες ιεράρχες και οι άγγελοι-διάκονοι μπροστά στην Άγια Τράπεζα με τα Τιμία Δώρα ή τον ευχαριστιακό Χριστό*, Thessalonikē 2008, 205; H. Schilb, *Byzantine identity and its patrons: Embroidered aëres and epitaphioi of the Palaiologan and post-Byzantine periods*, Bloomington 2009 (unpublished PhD thesis), 68–69. For the drawing of the fresco, v. *Markov manastir Sveti Dimitrija: crteži na freski*, Skopje 2012, 10, 31.

³ The bishops painted in three-quarter profile demonstrate a concern for the realistic depiction of the liturgical celebration, cf. L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo: les fresques du Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XII^e siècle*, Brussels 1975, 67–74, figs. 21–23; S. Gerstel, *Liturgical scrolls in the Byzantine sanctuary*, Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 35/2 (1994) 203; eadem, *Beholding the sacred mysteries*, 21–23, 34–35; Kōnstantinidē, *Ο Μελισμός*, 126.

⁴ According to Byzantine tradition, a privilege to celebrate the liturgy wearing a headgear was granted to the prelates of Alexandria and

with the words of the prophet Isaiah (53:7): *ἰακὼ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ζαχάριαν* (He was led like a lamb to the slaughter),⁵ spoken at the moment when the prosphora is pierced on the right side with a lance. Markov Manastir preserves a unique example of the quotation from Elijah's prophecy concerning the passion and death of Jesus Christ.⁶ Two bishops, St Peter of Alexandria and St Athanasios of Alexandria, are known as prominent opponents of the Arian heresy, and the reasons for depicting them side by side can be explained by the fact that they belonged to the same patriarchate – that of Alexandria.⁷ Archdeacon Stephen stands by the feet of Jesus Christ.⁸ He is shown with a tonsure,⁹ dressed in a *sticharion* adorned with an *orarion* featuring the text “*αἰνός*”,¹⁰ whereas his shoulder is covered with a *kalymma*.¹¹ He is holding an *arthrophorion* in his right hand and is waving a censer with his left,¹² which indicates the final part of the prothesis rite.¹³ This thematic unit is completed with the image of St Athanasios the Great, Patriarch of Alexandria (328–373), depicted on the north wall of the prothesis, next to the niche. St Athanasios is shown as an old man with short grey hair and a wide beard, divided into two parts. He is holding a scroll with the opening lines of the Prayer of Offering, which is uttered at the end of the prothesis rite: *εὐ(ο)χ(ε) εὐ(ο)χ(ε) νῆ(ε)β(ε)ς(ε)ν(ε) λῆ(ε)β(ε)ς(ε)ν(ε) <π(η)ψ(ε) <ε(ε)μ(ο)ν(ε) <μ(η)ν(ε) <ρ(ο)ν(ε)* (“O God, our God, who sent forth the heavenly bread,

the food of the whole world”).¹⁴ The quoted text is usually associated with St John Chrysostom,¹⁵ and it only rarely accompanies depictions of St Athanasios the Great.¹⁶ The next in the line is a figure of a bishop which has survived only from the waist up. As the face is also destroyed, it is not possible to reliably identify the depicted saint. Based on the fragment of the top of the head, which indicates that the figure is shown in semi-profile, it may be concluded that the saint had short brown hair with a few gray hairs, which continued into a beard of the same colour. Dressed in a *polystavrion* and an *omophorion*, the saint is holding a closed codex with his both hands.¹⁷

Mimesis and the depictions of the prothesis rite

A large number of monastic *diataxeis* (rubric books) compiled between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, which especially lay stress on the rules related to the *Prothesis ordo*, show that the preparatory rite was developing towards a greater complexity.¹⁸ According to litur-

Rome. According to Theodore Balsamon (twelfth century) and Symeon of Thessalonike (fifteenth century), only the Patriarch of Alexandria among the Orthodox clergy was permitted to wear a liturgical headdress. V. Ch. Walter, *The portrait of Jakob of Serres in London. Additional 39626*, Zograf 7 (1977) 65–70; idem, *Art and ritual*, 103–108; E. Piltz, *Kamelaukion et mitra. Insignes byzantins impériaux et ecclésiastiques*, Stockholm 1977, 54–55; W. T. Woodfin, *The embodied icon: liturgical vestments and sacramental power in Byzantium*, Oxford – New York 2012, 28.

⁵ L. Mirković, *Pravoslavna liturgika ili Nauka o bogoslužnju Pravoslavne istočne crkve*, 2 (Svete tajne i molitvoslovlja), Beograd 1982, 58–59; P. N. Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις κώδικας*, Athens 1935, 2, 27, 223, 4; F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies, eastern and western*, 1, *Eastern liturgies*, Oxford 1896 (reprinted 1965), 356, 33.

⁶ Cf. Kōnstantinidē, *Ο Μελισμός*, 219.

⁷ The same arrangement of the two bishops of Alexandria is found in Protaton and Ljuboten. V. Kōnstantinidē, *Ο Μελισμός*, 133–134.

⁸ On the role of the deacon in the Divine Liturgy, v. S. Salaville, G. Nowack, *Le rôle du diacre dans la liturgie orientale: étude d'histoire et de liturgie*, Paris–Athens 1962, 3–44.

⁹ The monastic tonsure signifies the Crown of Thorns and the vow of virginity, cf. Symeon of Thessalonike, *Ejusdem responsiones*, in: PG 155, col. 869. V. also B. Miljković, *Kružni postrig u pravoslavnoj crkvi* (στρογγύλη κουρά, παπαλήθρα, священническое поглыщение), ZRVI 50/2 (2013) 987–1002.

¹⁰ *Orarion* is inscribed with the words of the Seraphic hymn heard by Isaiah in his vision of the Lord (Is 6: 2–3), “*Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος*”, “Holy, Holy, Holy”, as explained by Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155, cols. 712 BC). On the vestments of the deacon, v. G. de Jerphanion, *Le plus ancienne représentation de l'orarion du diacre*, in: idem, *La Voix des Monuments*, Roma–Paris 1938, 279 sqq.; T. Papas, *Studien zur Geschichte der Messgewänder im byzantinischen Ritus*, Munich 1965, 81–105. The most recent study on this topic is published by Woodfin, *The embodied icon*, 5–9.

¹¹ Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι*, 14. For the explanation of the term and the function of the liturgical veil, v. A. Gnosová, *Kalymma*, in: ODB 2, ed. A. P. Kazhdan, Oxford 1991, 1097; cf. R. F. Taft, *The Great Entrance: a history of the transfer of gifts and other preanaphoral rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, Roma 1975, 213.

¹² G. de Jerphanion, *L'attribut des diacres dans l'art chrétien du Moyen âge en Orient*, in: idem, *La Voix des Monuments*, 285–296.

¹³ Grozdanov, *Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira*, 83; Mirković, *Pravoslavna liturgika*, 2, 62.

¹⁴ Mirković, *Pravoslavna liturgika*, 2, 63; Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι*, 17; Brightman, *Liturgies* 1, 309, 8; G. Babić, Ch. Walter, *The inscriptions upon liturgical rolls in Byzantine apse decoration*, REB 34 (1976) 270. Cf. the Prayer of Offering in the fourteenth century *leitourgikon* from the manuscript collection of the Dečani monastery (Dečani, no. 119). V. <http://scc.digital.bkp.nb.rs/document/DEC-119>, fol. 1r. Cf. Grozdanov, *Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira*, 83.

¹⁵ For the catalogue of the churches and the list of bishops carrying the scroll inscribed with this text, v. Kōnstantinidē, *Ο Μελισμός*, 219–220.

¹⁶ In addition to Markov Manastir, Athanasios of Alexandria is depicted with the same text in the church of St George in Andidi (1323), Crete, and the church of St. Nicholas “*του Κυρίτου*” (ca. 1360), Kastoria, cf. *Ibidem*, 191–192, 201.

¹⁷ Although conclusive evidence is lacking, we may suggest an explanation for the fragment of the bishop's portrait. A very similar shape of the head and hair colour are elements present in the representation of the thirteenth century Archbishop of Ohrid, St Constantine Kabasilas, as evidenced in the saint's portraits preserved in the churches of St George in Staro Nagoričino (1316–1317), Mali Sveti Vrači (ca. 1340) and St John Kaneo in Ohrid (1280–1290). Such an example would confirm the practice of depicting local representatives of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the territory of Macedonia. For the role of the cult of St Constantine Kabasilas and the iconography of the spiritual patron of Ohrid, v. C. Grozdanov, *O Sv. Konstantinu Kavasili i njegovim portretima u svetlu novih saznanja*, ZRVI 44 (2007) 313–324. Cf. also B. Todić, *Freske u Bogorodici Perivlepti i poreklo Ohridske arhi-episkopije*, ZRVI 39 (2001–2002) 147–163.

¹⁸ References to the prothesis rite can be found in the patriarchal register as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, cf. V. Grumel, *Les Régestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, I: Les actes des Patriarches, fasc. 2, 3: Les régestes de 715 à 1206*, ed. J. Darrouzès, Paris 1989, nos. 918, 985, 992, 1107; V. Laurent, *Le rituel de la procomide et le métropolitain de Crète Elie*, REB 16 (1958) 116–142. On the development of the prothesis rite, v. T. Pott, *La réforme liturgique byzantine: étude du phénomène de l'évolution non spontanée de la liturgie byzantine*, Roma 2000, 169–196; R. F. Taft, *Mount Athos: A late chapter in the history of the Byzantine rite*, DOP 42 (1988) 192–193; A. Rental, *Byzantine-Slav worship*, in: *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, eds. G. Wainwright, K. B. Westerfield Tucker, Oxford 2006, 292; idem, *The origins of the XIVth century Patriarchal liturgical diataxis of Dimitrios Gemistos*, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 71/2 (2005) 368–379; M. Altripp, *Die Prothesis und ihre Bildausstattung in Byzanz, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Denkmäler Griechenlands*, Frankfurt am Main 1998, 41–67. “The oldest Serbian source for this preparatory rite is prothesis in Sava's Nomocanon (early thirteenth century), which reveals a rather archaic *Prothesis ordo*, which is more

gical rules, the rite was performed by a priest and a deacon, and this was appropriately depicted in the niche of the prothesis in Markov Manastir. The role of a deacon in the prothesis rite was highlighted already by Nicholas and Theodore, bishops of Andida (eleventh century) in the liturgical commentaries *Προθεωρία*.¹⁹ The rule according to which a deacon should take part in the prothesis rite is mentioned in the *Diataxis* of Philotheos Kokkinos (†1377/1378), the most influential collection of rubrics of the fourteenth century, a copy of which has come down to us through more than thirty Byzantine and Slavic manuscripts.²⁰ The emergence of a large number of *diataxeis* may also be explained as a result of an intention to place the intensive development of the prothesis rite under the control of ecclesiastical circles.²¹ However, it has never been substantially clarified whether the role of the *diatax-*



Fig. 1. Markov Manastir, prothesis. Prothesis rite

representative of twelfth century Byzantine liturgical practice", cf. N. Glibetić, *An early Balkan testimony of the Byzantine prothesis rite: the Nomocanon of St Sava of Serbia* (†1236), in: *Synaxis katholike*, 1, eds. D. Atanassova, T. Chronz, Wien 2014, 239–248. For the pre-Philothean period of worship in medieval Serbia, v. editions of three Sinai fourteenth century rolls of the Divine Liturgy: N. Glibetić, *The oldest Sinai sources of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy in cyrillic: Sin. Slav. 38/N, Sin. Slav. 39/N and Sin. Slav. 40/O+N*, Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata 10 (2013) 115–144, esp. 129–130. A recent study of the *Prothesis ordo* in Greek and South Slavic sources can be found in: eadem, *The history of the Divine Liturgy among the south Slavs: the oldest cyrillic sources (13th–14th c.)*, Rome 2013 (unpublished PhD thesis), 88–137; S. Hawkes-Teeples, *The prothesis of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy: what has been done and what remains*, in: *Rites and rituals of the Christian East*, eds. B. Groen et al., Leuven 2014, 317–328. This thesis as well as the paper were inaccessible to us. V. also the preparatory rite in Serbian fourteenth century liturgical manuscripts: Serbian Liturgical Scroll of Hilandar (*Hil. No. 3/II*, T 708), Serbian Service book (*Hil. No. 315*, T 376) and *Ćorović 7* (University Library in Belgrade), published in: Episkop A. Jevtić, *Hristos nova Pasha: Božanstvena liturgija*, 1, Beograd–Trebinje 2007, 453–456, 474–478.

¹⁹ PG 140, col. 429; Salaville-Nowack, *Le rôle du diacre*, 49–52.

²⁰ The compilation was created while he was the hegumen of the Athonite monastery of Great Lavra (1342–1345). The enormous influence of Philotheos' *Diataxis* was not limited merely to the Greek-speaking world. It was translated into Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian, cf. J. Meyendorff, *Mount Athos in the fourteenth century: Spiritual and intellectual legacy*, DOP 42 (1988) 161, 163–164. For the Slavic manuscripts containing a translation of the Philotheos' *Diataxis* v. P. A. Syrku, *Liturgicheskie trudy patriarkha Evfimiia Turnovskogo*, Saint Petersburg 1890, 149–175; S. D. Muretov, *Istoricheskiĭ obzor chinoposledovaniia proskomidii do "Ustava liturgii" Konstantinopol'skogo Patriarkha Filofeiā: opyt istoriko-liturgicheskogo issledovaniia*, Moscow 1895; T. I. Afanas'eva, *K voprosu o redaktsiakh slaviānskogo perevoda Diataksisa Bozhestvennoi liturgii patriarkha Filofeiā Kokkina i ob avtorstve ego drevnerusskoi versii*, in: *Lingvisticheskoe istochnikovedenie i istoriia russkogo iazyka*, Moscow 2013, 67–85; S. I. Panova, *Diataksis patriarkha Filofeiā Kokkina v slaviānskoĭ knizhnoi traditsii XIV–XV vv.: Lingvotekstologicheskoe issledovanie*, Moscow 2009 (unpublished PhD thesis); M. Zheltov, *A Slavonic translation of the Eucharistic Diataxis of Philotheos Kokkinos from a lost Manuscript (Athos Agiou Pavlou 149)*, in: *TOXOTHIC. Studi per Stefano Parenti*, eds. D. Galadza, N. Glibetić, G. Radle, Grottaferrata 2010, 345–359 (including a bibliography about the Slavic Philothean heritage). For Greek manuscripts v. Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι*, 1, 3, 232–233. Cf. Rentel, *The origins*, 368–369, n. 27. A detailed description of the prothesis and liturgical commentaries of the rite are provided by Altripp, *Die Prothesis*, 47–67. For other anonymous monastic *diataxeis* (XII–XV centuries), which lay stress on the rubrics related to the prothesis rite, and the *Diataxis* of Demetrios Gemistos (late fourteenth century), v. Rentel, *op. cit.*, 370–385.

²¹ Taft, *Mount Athos*, 192–193.

eis was to prescribe or merely to describe contemporary liturgical practice.²² As the depicted scene reveals an intention to render the instructions for performing the prothesis rite using an authentic visual language, the fresco in the prothesis of Markov Manastir seems to corroborate the former hypothesis. This is principally indicated by the unique example of the quotation from the Book of the Prophet Isaiah (Is 53, 7), as well as by the text of the Prayer of Offering. Furthermore, the elements such as the *aër*,²³ asterisk resting upon Christ's body and the censer in the hand of St Stephen the Archdeacon,²⁴ confirm that the painters were familiar with the final part of the rite.²⁵ All of the three mentioned elements are the iconographic peculiarities of the depiction of the prothesis rite in Markov Manastir (fig. 1).²⁶

The parallelism between visual elements and the corresponding liturgical sources – the rubrics related to the prothesis rite, is rooted in the mimetic nature of frescoes.²⁷ The aim of this approach is to create an image – an ideal model which embraces two types of narration, ver-

²² Rentel, *op. cit.*, 371.

²³ The Eucharistic scenes in monumental painting show that the *aër*, which was used to cover the vessels containing the Eucharistic bread and wine on the Holy Table, was habitually represented as a red, purple or ochre liturgical veil, lavishly decorated or simpler, with an embroidered cross in the central section. V. J. Boycheva, *L'aër dans la liturgie orthodoxe et son iconographie du XIII^e siècle jusque dans l'art post-byzantin*, CA 51 (2003) 174, n. 71, 72; Kōnstantinidē, *O Melismos*, 139–140.

²⁴ Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι*, 4. The motifs in the fresco at Markov Manastir are discussed in Kōnstantinidē, *O Melismos*, 90.

²⁵ Cf. Zheltov, *A Slavonic translation*, 358.

²⁶ H. Belting (*The Image and its public in the Middle Ages: form and function of early paintings of the Passion*, New York 1990, 126) identified the composition in the prothesis of Markov Manastir as the *Melismos*, in which the Christ Child was replaced by the body of the deceased Saviour. Schilb (*Byzantine identity*, 68–69) agrees with Belting's opinion that the "cloth-borne" image (e.g. the image of Christ as the *Amnos*) has a meaning closely related to the iconography of the *Melismos* and concludes that the fresco in the prothesis fuses two distinct sets of iconography.

²⁷ For a liturgical explanation of the function of Byzantine art, v. T. Mathews, *The early churches of Constantinople: architecture and liturgy*, University Park 1971. On mimesis in Byzantine art v. W. Tronzo, *Mimesis in Byzantium: Notes toward a history of the function of the image*, RES: Anthropology and aesthetics 25 (1994) 61–76; C. Barber, *Mi-*



Fig. 2. Markov Manastir, prothesis.
St Athanasios of Alexandria

bal and visual, and confirms the legitimacy of the ritual act.²⁸ In addition, the mimetic relationship between the image, on the one hand, and the text and ritual, on the other, also incorporates a spatial component, having in mind that the prothesis rite is performed in front of the eponymous scene.

A comparison with other examples of the same theme shows that they bear a strong imprint of realism inherent in Eucharistic themes in the painting of the Palaiologan period.²⁹ In the earliest example, the church of St Panteleimon at Bizariano on Crete (the last third of the thirteenth century), above the body of the Christ child lying as the sacrificial offering on the paten, there is a figure which most probably represents a priest getting ready to pierce the *Amnos* with the lance.³⁰ This moment in the prothesis rite is the most explicitly depicted in two Serbian medieval churches: Ljuboten (1344/1345) (fig. 3) and Matejič (1348/1352). In the prothesis of the church of St Nicholas in Ljuboten, the prothesis rite is performed by St Peter of Alexandria and St Athanasios of Alexandria over

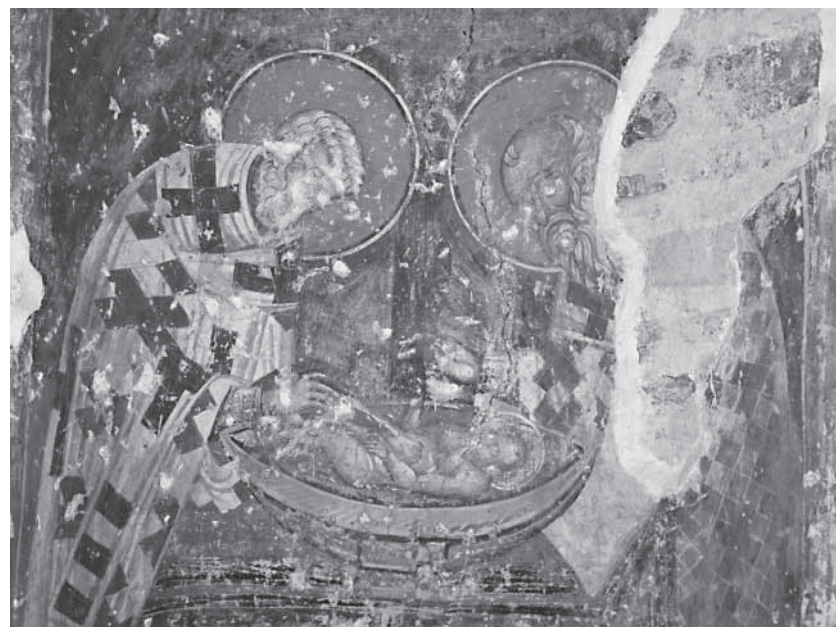


Fig. 3. Ljuboten. Prothesis rite (photo: I. Djordjević)

the completely naked body of the Christ child lying on the paten. In his right hand, St Peter of Alexandria is holding the lance ready to stab the right side of Christ's body.³¹ The scene in the prothesis of the church of the Holy Virgin in Matejič conforms to the same scheme, but the rite is performed by St John Chrysostom and St Basil the Great, who is holding the lance.³² In the two remaining examples preserved in the apses of Cretan churches from the first half of the fourteenth century – St Photios at Agia (fig. 4)³³ and St John the Baptist at Axos (fig. 5),³⁴ the act of piercing the *Amnos* with the lance is indicated by painting the instrument next to the body of the Christ child.³⁵

The mentioned Serbian and Cretan examples share iconographic similarities and common elements with the fresco analyzed in this paper. Already in Ljuboten, St Peter of Alexandria was selected to perform the prothesis rite,³⁶ while the text on the scroll of St Basil the Great, one

mesis and memory in the narthex mosaics at the Nea Moni, Chios, Art History 24/3 (2001) 323–337.

²⁸ Tronzo, *Mimesis in Byzantium*, 67.

²⁹ M. Garidis, *Approche "réaliste" dans la représentation du Mésismos*, in: XIV. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, 1981, Akten, II. Teil, Wien 1982, 498–502; Ch. Kōnstantinidē, *To δογματικό υπόβαθρο στην αγίδα του Αγίου Παντελεήμονα Βελανιδιών. Ο Ευαγγελισμός, ο Μελισμός, ο επώνυμος άγιος*, Deltion ChAE 20 (1998) 175.

³⁰ K. Gallas, K. Wessel, M. Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, Munich 1983, 103, 402, 406; M. Bissinger, *Kreta. Byzantinische Wandmalerei*, Munich 1995, 72; Kōnstantinidē, *O Μελισμός*, 99.

³¹ Garidis, *Approche "réaliste"*, 499, figs. 3–4; Walter, *Art and ritual*, 212, 250; Kōnstantinidē, *O Μελισμός*, 99.

³² Garidis, *Approche "réaliste"*, 499; E. Dimitrova, *Manastir Matejič*, Skopje 2002, 107–108; Kōnstantinidē, *O Μελισμός*, 99, figs. 183–184.

³³ I. Spatharakis, *Byzantine wall paintings of Crete, 1: Rethymnon Province*, London 1999, 325, 156; Kōnstantinidē, *O Μελισμός*, 99, 194, figs. 139–140, XL–XLI.

³⁴ Gallas, Wessel, Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, 347; Bissinger, *Kreta*, 212; Spatharakis, *Byzantine wall paintings*, 325; Kōnstantinidē, *O Μελισμός*, 99, 195, fig. 141, XLII.

³⁵ The practice of mixing elements of two liturgical moments, the prothesis rite and the Fraction, can be observed in Eucharistic scenes in Late Byzantine fresco painting, e.g. Κόκκινη Παναγία (Konitsa, Epirus, 1400–1425), cf. Kōnstantinidē, *O Μελισμός*, 213, figs. 248, 251–252.

³⁶ Grozdanov, *Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira*, argues that the selection of bishops at Markov Manastir can be explained through the association with the iconography of the Vision of St Peter of Alexandria, which is habitually depicted in the chapel of the prothesis. On the practice of depicting St Stephen the Archdeacon and the Vision of St Peter of Alexandria in that compartment, v. M. Altripp, *Beobachtungen zum bildprogramm der prothesis*, in: *Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme-Ikonographie-Still*, ed. G. Koch, Wiesbaden 2000, 25–40; S. Koukariar, *The depiction of the Vision of saint Peter of Alexandria in the sanctuary of Byzantine churches*, Zograf 35 (2011) 63–69. See the

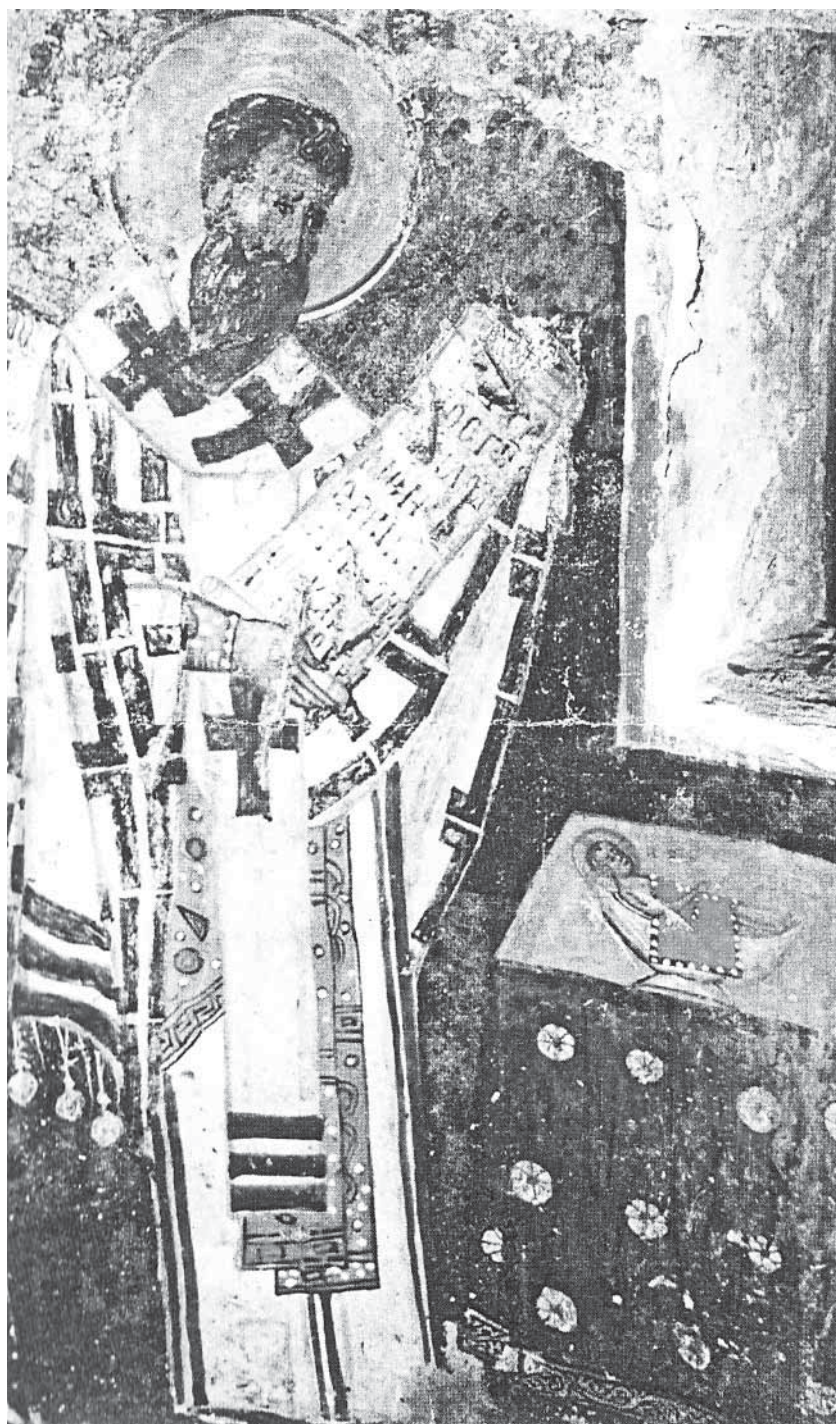


Fig. 4. St Photios at Agia, Crete. Prothesis rite (after Kōnstantinidē, Ho Melismos)

of the bishops surrounding the *Amnos* in the church of St John the Baptist, bears the opening words of the Prayer of Offering, just like the scroll of St Athanasios of Alexandria in Markov Manastir.³⁷ Furthermore, in the church of St Photios, the instrument was depicted as placed on the arm and chest of the Christ child in the same way as in the representation of the adult deceased Christ in Markov Manastir, while the scene in the church of St John the Baptist at Axos is the only one, apart from that in Markov

surviving fresco in the church of St Nicholas in Staničenje, where St Stephen the Archdeacon and Protomartyr is depicted on the east wall of the prothesis, above the niche with the image of the *Man of Sorrows*: S. Gabelić, *Slikarstvo crkve*, in: M. Popović et al., *Crkva Svetog Nikole u Staničenju*, Beograd 2005, 155.

³⁷ Kōnstantinidē, *O Melismos*, 195, 219; Altripp, *Die Prothesis*, 165–168, 176–180.



Fig. 5. St John the Baptist at Axos, Crete. Prothesis rite (after Kōnstantinidē, Ho Melismos)

Manastir, to feature the motif of the asterisk – it is placed above the *Amnos* in the chalice.³⁸ The fresco in Markov Manastir³⁹ is certainly a more specific example since the asterisk is an element that more commonly appears in the iconography of the *Melismos*. According to Chara Konstantinidi, such examples indicate a fusion of elements within two iconographic types of Jesus Christ as the sacrificial Lamb in the Palaiologan period.⁴⁰

As it can be concluded, the scene in Markov Manastir is different from other examples of the prothesis rite by the presence of the archdeacon and the representation of Christ the sacrificial Lamb as the deceased Saviour in His adult age, with His eyes closed.⁴¹ This iconographic type

³⁸ Kōnstantinidē, *O Melismos*, 195, fig. 141, XLII.

³⁹ In addition to the example at Markov Manastir, another two frescoes showing the *Amnos* as adult Christ feature an asterisk: the Skete in Monemvasia (1275–1300) and the church of the Virgin – “Παναγία ή Δεξιά” in Veroia (1350–1400), cf. Kōnstantinidē, *O Melismos*, 180, 205.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁴¹ The canons of the Quinisext Council in Trullo (692) did not strictly determine whether Christ as the Eucharistic sacrifice should be painted as a child or an adult, cf. G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collection*, 11, Firenze 1765, 977, 980. On the two iconographic types of Christ as the *Amnos*, v. D. Iliopoulou-Rogan, *Sur une fresque de la période des Paléologues*, Byzantion 41 (1971) 113–115; Ch. Walter (*The Christ Child on the altar in Byzantine apse decoration*, in: *Actes du XV^e congrès international d'études byzantines*, II/B, Athens 1979, 909–913) interprets the representation of the Christ Child on the Holy Table as an expression of Nicholas of Andida's commentary about the prothesis rite. Another iconographic type of the dead Christ – *θυόμενος*, designed in the Greek region of Laconia at the end of the thirteenth century. The blood and water flowing from Christ's wound visually recall the prothesis rite, cf. R. F. Taft, *Water into Wine. The Twice-mixed Chalice in the Byzantine Eucharist*, Le Muséon 100 (1987) 323–342. The earliest example dates from thirteenth century churches: St Panteleimonos in Velanida, cf. Kōnstantinidē, *To δογματικό υπόβαθρο*, 168–175; and Saints Theodores in Kafiona, cf. N. B. Drandakis, *Les peintures murales des Saints Théodores à Kaphiona (Magne du Peloponnèse)*, CA 32 (1984) 163–175. These examples are followed by fourteenth century monuments, such as St Andrew in Kato Kastania and St John Chrysostom in Ge-

of Christ is an exception in the context of the Eucharistic themes painted in the prothesis during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, where, beginning with the earliest example from the church of the Holy Apostles at the Patriarchate of Peć (ca. 1260 or 1271–1272),⁴² Christ the sacrificial Lamb was depicted as a child on the paten.⁴³ Although less popular and, accordingly, less often depicted, the other type of the sacrificial offering – the deceased adult Christ usually lying directly upon the Holy Table, can also be found in the sanctuary apses or chapels between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴⁴

We believe that the symbolism and meaning of the prothesis rite are a very important source in dealing with this matter and they will be discussed in the next segment of the paper.⁴⁵ On the other hand, one should not exclude the possibility that the depiction of the adult Christ was determined by the set of iconographic patterns available to the painters of Markov Manastir, particularly if we have in mind that Man of Sorrows on the west wall conforms to a very similar scheme.⁴⁶

The Deceased Saviour in the prothesis of Markov Manastir and the meaning of the iconography of the aër

There is an apparent thematic and iconographic similarity between the discussed scene and the liturgical cloth adorned with an image of the dead body of Christ,⁴⁷ which is in liturgical sources, *typika* and iconographic materials usually referred to as *aër* (ἀήρ)⁴⁸ and *epitaphios*

(ἐπιτάφιος),⁴⁹ whose liturgical function is associated with the transfer of the Holy Gifts during the Great Entrance and, in a later period, with the symbolic funeral procession for Jesus Christ on Good Friday.⁵⁰ The study of the relationship between the iconography and the function of these liturgical cloths shows that it was impossible to distinguish between them in the early stages of development.⁵¹

sence. *The Paschal triduum in the Byzantine church*, in: idem, *Liturgy in Byzantium and beyond*, Aldershot–Brookfield 1995, 71–97. On the funeral symbolism of the Great Entrance in the writings of church fathers (fifth–fourteenth centuries) v. Boycheva, *L'aër dans la liturgie*, 170. The author argues that the embroidered figural representations on the *aër* appeared in the late thirteenth century, v. *ibidem*, 176.

⁴⁹ Different terms have been used to designate this liturgical textile in scholarly literature; the most frequent among them was *aër-epitaphios*. It refers to a transitional stage in the development of the *aër* into the *epitaphios*, cf. Schilb, *Byzantine identity*, 20–55, 51–52; Boycheva, *L'aër dans la liturgie*, 169–193. The iconography and the liturgical function of textiles with the embroidered images of dead Christ have been discussed by Juliana Boicheva, whose research has led to the conclusion that the role of the *aër* was primarily associated with the Great Entrance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was only later, in the sixteenth century, that they were included in the rites related to the Good Friday and Holy Saturday, cf. V. J. Boycheva, *Plashchanišy paleologovskoi epokhi iz bolgarskih tserkvei i muzeev. Problemy funktsii i ikonografii*, in: *Vizantiiskii mir: iskusstvo Konstantinopoliā i natsional'nye traditsii*, Moscow 2005, 537–552. The same opinion was first put forward much earlier by L. Mirković, *Crkveni umetnički vez*, Beograd 1940, 13–14. For different interpretations, v. Belting, *An image and its function*, 15. The use of the word ἐπιτάφιος in the most important liturgical source of the fifteenth century highlights the liturgical and functional contexts of the *aër*, as argued Symeon of Thessalonike: PG 155, 288; St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *The liturgical commentaries*, ed. S. Hawkes-Teeples, Toronto 2011, 235. For a different interpretation of the function of the *epitaphios*, v. S. Ćurčić, *Late Byzantine loca sancta? Questions regarding the form and function of Epitaphioi*, in: *The Twilight of Byzantium, Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire*, eds. S. Ćurčić, D. Mouriki, Princeton 1991, 251–261.

⁵⁰ Opposing opinions regarding this issue have been presented in scholarly literature. A number of authors argue that the *aër* and *epitaphios* embroidered with the dead body of Christ are separate types of liturgical cloths, though they agree that the form and the liturgical function of the *epitaphios* developed from the form and function of the *aër*. V. I. Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance in Crete*, in: idem, *Studies in Byzantine manuscript illumination and iconography*, London 1996, 296–297; A. Gnossová, *Aër, Epitaphios*, in: *ODB 1*, 27, 720–721; Taft, *Great Entrance*, 216–219; P. Johnstone, *The Byzantine tradition in church embroidery*, London 1967, 25–26. According to the opposing point of view, grounded in iconographic and liturgical sources, in the Middle Ages, the distinction between these two types of liturgical textiles in terms of design and function was not so strict as it is today. Accordingly, *aër/epitaphios* was used as a Eucharistic veil and was carried in the Christ's burial procession during the Holy Week. V. Mirković, *Crkveni umetnički vez*, 13–14; Schilb, *Byzantine identity*, 27–28, 30–33, 73; W. Woodfin, *Liturgical textiles*, in: *Byzantium: Faith and power (1261–1557)*, ed. H. Evans, New York – London 2004, 296–297, 316–317, fig. 190. Woodfin (*The embodied icon*, 125–126, fig. 3.3) draws attention to the *epitaphios* of Nicholas Eudaimonioiannes (1406–1407) in London embroidered with the verses of the *troparion Noble Joseph* and a *troparion* of the Resurrection, the *Myrrh-Bearing Women*, which were performed during the deposition of the gifts on the Holy Table.

⁵¹ This is evidenced by two examples. On the *aër-epitaphios* of the Archbishop of Novgorod Euthymios II (†1458) the central scene of the Lamentation is surrounded by the embroidered *troparion* uttered at the end of the Great Entrance. V. Schilb, *Byzantine identity*, 27, cat. no. 30, fig. 54. The association with the Eucharistic symbolism is apparent in the second *aër-epitaphios* from Thessalonike (early fourteenth century), where the central representation of the deceased Christ and

raki, cf. N. Moutsopoulos, G. Dēmētrokallēs, *Γεράκι. Οί ἐκκλησίες τοῦ οἰκισμού*, Thessalonikē 1981, 224; cf. also Kōnstantinidē, *O Mελισμός*, 98–99; C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Images des pratiques eucharistiques dans les monuments byzantins du Moyen Âge*, in: *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge)*, 1, 183–184.

⁴² S. Petković, *Arhiepiskop Danilo I – ktitor fresaka u proskomidiji pečke crkve Svetih Apostola*, *Zograf* 30 (2004–2005) 81–85; G. Babić, *Simbolično značenje živopisa u protezisu Svetih Arhandela u Peći*, *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture* 15 (1964) 173–181; J. Radovanović, *Ikonografija fresaka protezisa crkve Svetih Apostola u Peći*, *ZLUMS* 4 (1968) 27–63.

⁴³ Cf. Staro Nagoričino; Hilandar; the church of St Nicholas in Serres; Dečani; the church of St Nicholas in Kakopetria, Cyprus, in: Kōnstantinidē, *O Mελισμός*, 89, n. 14. The figure of the infant Christ as the sacrificial Lamb depicted in the central apse of the sanctuary became more popular since the end of the twelfth century, cf. Garidis, *Approche "réaliste"*, 496; Kōnstantinidē, *O Mελισμός*, 79–86.

⁴⁴ The image of the deceased Christ appeared at the end of the twelfth century, as evidenced in the church at Samari, Messina, cf. H. Grigoriadou-Cabagnols, *Le décor peint de l'église de Samari en Messénie*, *CA* 20 (1970) 178, 182. For the examples from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries v. Iliopoulou-Rogan, *Sur une fresque*, 118; Kōnstantinidē, *O Mελισμός*, 79, n. 23, 24, 25; cf. also Jolivet-Lévy, *Images des pratiques eucharistiques*, 182–185.

⁴⁵ Kōnstantinidē, *O Mελισμός*, 90.

⁴⁶ M. Tomić Djurić, *The man of sorrows and the lamenting Virgin: the example at Markov manastir*, *ZRVI* 49 (2012) 303–331.

⁴⁷ Iliopoulou-Rogan, *Sur une fresque*, 116–118; Kōnstantinidē, *O Mελισμός*, 78.

⁴⁸ The iconography of the dead body of Christ embroidered on the *aër* was influenced by the symbolism of the Great Entrance as the burial procession and the interpretation of the *aër* as the shroud of Christ, which prevailed in the Orthodox liturgy in the fourteenth century, cf. Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 217; idem, *In the Bridegroom's ab-*

The symbolism contained in the liturgical theology shaped the concept of the prothesis rite as the liturgical commemoration of the Nativity and the Death of Jesus Christ.⁵² Accordingly, the meaning of the *aër*, which covers the Holy Gifts, is derived from the symbolism related to Christ's burial. It is noteworthy that among many iconographic themes based on a symbolic representation of the deceased Christ charged with liturgical meaning,⁵³ there are some later concepts of the *aër* that were inspired by the prothesis rite. The central motif on the *aër* from the monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos (fifteenth century), showing a paten with the infant Christ covered with the asterisk, surrounded by crosses with cryptograms IC XC NIKA and angels carrying *rhipidia* (liturgical fans), is usually interpreted as a symbolic representation of the breaking of the Lamb during the prothesis rite.⁵⁴ An *aër* from the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos (1613/1614, fig. 6) shows a representation of the infant Christ on a paten covered with an asterisk, resting on a Holy Table under a ciborium surrounded by angels; the association with the prothesis rite is clearly established through the embroidered quotation of Ps 16:18, uttered by the priest while covering the Holy Gifts.⁵⁵ One of the many Russian *aërs* adorned with a visual interpretation of the prothesis rite is now kept in the monastery of St John of Rila (seventeenth century). The distinguishing feature of this example is the depiction of the lance in the hand of a celebrant angel, who is about to stab the Lamb on the paten.⁵⁶

The dual symbolism of liturgical commentaries

Liturgical commentaries based on the concept of Eucharistic symbolism are very important in understanding the relationship between fresco programmes and liturgical rituals. According to these mystagogical interpretations, every liturgical gesture is interpreted as a symbolic repetition of Christ's earthly life, death and Resurrection.⁵⁷ The tradition of liturgical exegesis, which is

the lamenting angels is surrounded by the Communion of the Apostles. V. L. Bouras, *The Epitaphios of Thessaloniki, Byzantine Museum of Athens* No. 685, in: *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIVe siècle*. Recueil des rapports du IVe colloque Serbo-Grec, eds. D. Davidov, R. Samardžić, Beograd 1987, 211–231; Woodfin, *The embodied icon*, 125.

⁵² A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée. Principes et methods pour l'études historique des liturgies chrétiennes*, Paris 1953, 145–146; M. Radujko, *Čin uznošenja i razdrobljenja agneca u pričešću apostola iz Bogorodičine crkve u Kincvisi*, ZRVI 34 (1995) 203–218.

⁵³ For an overview of liturgical textiles and their imagery, v. Schilb, *Byzantine identity*. A detailed analysis based on a group of *aërs* and *epitaphia* from the Balkans is offered by Boycheva, *Plashchanitsy paleologovskoi epokhi*, 537–552; eadem, *L'aer dans la liturgie*, 169–194; eadem, *L'epitaphios du despote de Ioannina Esaou Bouondelmonti et de son épouse Eudokia Balšić à Blagoevgrad*, *Deltion ChAE* 26 (2005) 273–282.

⁵⁴ On the Fraction of the Amnos, v. Brightman, *Liturgies I*, 393; Radujko, *Čin uznošenja*, 203–218. For the image on the *aër*, v. M. Theocharēs, *Χρυσοκέντητα άμφια*, in: *Οι θησαυροί της Μονής Πάτμου*, Athens 1988, 185–220; Boycheva, *L'aer dans la liturgie*, 179.

⁵⁵ E. Vlachopoulou-Karabina, *Holy Monastery of Iveron: gold embroideries*, Mount Athos 1998, 29, fig. 2.10; Boycheva, *L'aer dans la liturgie*, 180.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 180, fig. 16.

⁵⁷ R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la Divine Liturgie du VI^e au XV^e siècle*, Paris 1966.



Fig. 6. *Aër with the scene of Melismos. Iviron monastery, Mount Athos, 1613/1614 (after Vlachopoulou-Karabina, Holy Monastery of Iveron)*

the basis of anagogical symbolism, was established in the *Historia ecclesiastica*⁵⁸ by Germanos I, Patriarch of Constantinople (715–730). According to this interpretation, the niche of the prothesis and the Holy Table are compared to the Bethlehem cave and the tomb of Christ,⁵⁹ whereas the knife that cuts the Lamb is compared with the lance with which the Roman soldier Longinus pierced Christ on the cross.⁶⁰ A different approach to the interpretation of the Holy Eucharist, where each liturgical gesture had a symbolic value of an event from the life of Jesus Christ, was devised by Nicholas and Theodore, bishops of Andida (eleventh century) in the liturgical commentaries titled Προθεωρία.⁶¹ The iconographic type of the adult deceased Christ as the sacrificial offering in the prothesis has a liturgical foundation in the work of the two bishops of Andida, who referred to the Holy Table as the tomb of Christ.⁶² This type of Eucharistic symbolism would be adopted in later periods, as exemplified by the rubric related to the prothesis in a twelfth-century monastic *dia-*

⁵⁸ PG 98, 384–453; F. E. Brightman, *The Historia Mystagogica and other Greek commentaries on the Byzantine liturgy*, *Journal of Theological Studies* 9 (1908) 248–267, 387–397; *St. Germanus of Constantinople. On the divine liturgy*, ed. P. Meyendorff, Crestwood – New York 1984; Bornert, *Les commentaires*, 125–142.

⁵⁹ “Ἡ κόγχη ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ σπήλαιον, ὅπου ἐγεννήθη ὁ Χριστὸς. Καὶ κατὰ τὸ σπήλαιον ὅπου ἐτάφη... Ἡ ἁγία τράπεζα ἐστὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆς ταφῆς, ἐν ᾗ ἐτέθη ὁ Χριστὸς, ἐν ᾗ πρόκειται ὁ ἀληθινὸς καὶ οὐράνιος ἄρτος, ἡ μυστικὴ καὶ ἀναίμακτος θυσία... Θυσιαστήριον ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται ἡ φάτνη καὶ ὁ τάφος τοῦ Κυρίου” (PG 98, 388).

⁶⁰ “Ἡ δὲ Λόγχη, ἀντὶ τῆς κεντησάσης τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου”, v. PG 98, 397; *St. Germanus of Constantinople. On the divine liturgy*, 70; H.-J. Schulz, *Die byzantinische liturgie: Glaubenszeugnis und symbolgestalt (Sophia)*, Trier 1980, 114. The relic of the Holy Lance was brought to Constantinople from Jerusalem in 614, cf. G. Descoedres, *Die Pastoforien im syro-byzantinischen Osten. Eine Untersuchung zu architektur – und liturgiegeschichtlichen Problemen*, Wiesbaden 1983, 95 sqq.

⁶¹ Bornert, *Les commentaires*, 184–195; Schulz, *Die liturgie*, 92–93; J. Darrouzès, *Nicolas d'Andida et les azymes*, *REB* 32 (1974) 200–203.

⁶² PG 140, 421; Schulz, *Die liturgie*, 153. Cf. Kōnstantinidē, *Ο Μελισμός*, 100.



Fig. 7. St Nicholas at Curtea de Argeș, prothesis. Deceased Christ with angels (after Barbu, *Pictura murală*)

taxis (Υπόμνησις...περὶ τῆς προσκομιδῆς), where the lance is associated with the Crucifixion of Christ.⁶³ The realism of the image in Markov Manastir is also in accord with the interpretation of Nicholas Kabasilas, a respected fourteenth century liturgist, according to which bread is transformed into the body of Christ already during the prothesis rite.⁶⁴

The dual symbolism of liturgical commentaries, which unites the ideas of Christ's birth and death, is also present in the iconography of the described composition in Markov Manastir. The motif of the censer in the hand of Archdeacon Stephen primarily emphasizes its funerary aspect. Although the occurrence of this liturgical object is entirely justified having in mind the meaning of the rite, it was not commonly painted in the scene showing the *Melismos* surrounded by officiating bishops and the Prothesis Rite.⁶⁵ The censer is an integral part of the iconography of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin and the death and burial of saints and monks.⁶⁶ The *aër* above the body of Christ which symbolizes the cloth in which the body of the deceased Saviour was wrapped, also has a meaning associated with Christ's burial.⁶⁷ On the other hand, the motif of the asterisk is an iconographic element whose liturgical meaning unambiguously bears association with the Nativity and the star of Bethlehem.⁶⁸ As far as the funerary symbolism

of the image is concerned, the specific iconography of the image of the deceased Christ painted across two registers in the prothesis of the church St Nicholas at Curtea de Argeș (ca. 1376/1377, fig. 7) can be brought into relationship with the example from Markov Manastir.⁶⁹ The body of the deceased Christ, under the canopy, which symbolizes the Holy Sepulchre, is surrounded by angel-deacons carrying *rhypidia*, candles and censers. In scholarly literature attention has been drawn to the remarkable similarity between this image and the iconographic themes typically depicted on the *aër* / *epitaphios*.⁷⁰

These similarities show that the liturgy strongly encouraged the creation and development of an iconography adjusted to the symbolical, narrative and liturgical nature of the image, embodied in a fresco, icon or a liturgical cloth. This aspect of Late Byzantine painting found its full expression in the selection and arrangement of themes in Markov Manastir. The Man of Sorrows – in the fourteenth century, typically painted in the niche of the prothesis – was placed on the west wall of the naos, so that the image of the deceased Christ in the scene showing the prothesis rite could be integrated into the liturgical Eucharistic meaning of the fresco ensemble in the lower register in the sanctuary.⁷¹

The Great Entrance

The theological doctrine according to which the heavenly and earthly liturgy occur simultaneously, which is present in the interpretations of the liturgy between the eighth and fifteenth centuries,⁷² has been visually embodied in the scene of the Great Entrance (fig. 8).⁷³ The ten-

The liturgical commentaries, 185. Schulz (*Die liturgie*, 99) draws attention to the cosmological symbolism in Ps 32 (33): 6, which was associated with the asterisk in the earliest liturgical sources, citing as an example a twelfth century manuscript, *Par. gr.* 1973, fol. 2. Cf. Woodfin, *The embodied icon*, 112.

⁶⁹ O. Tafrali, *Monuments byzantins de Curtea de Argeș: Atlas*, Paris 1931, fig. 83; C. L. Dumitrescu, *Anciennes et nouvelles hypothèses sur un monument roumain du XIV^e siècle: L'église Saint-Nicolas-Domnesc de Curtea de Argeș*, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art* 16 (1979) 28; A. Dumitrescu, *Une nouvelle datation des peintures murales de Curtea de Argeș. Origine de leur iconographie*, *CA* 37 (1989) 150. The frescoes in Curtea de Argeș are dated variously. For an overview of literature on that problem, v. D. Simić-Lazar, *Sur une datation des fresques de l'église de Saint-Nicolas de Curtea de Argeș (Roumanie)*, *ZLUMS* 39 (2011) 9–12.

⁷⁰ The fresco inspired a number of interpretations, cf. Dumitrescu, *Anciennes et nouvelles hypothèses sur un monument roumain du XIV^e siècle*, 28; Tafrali, *Monuments byzantins de Curtea de Argeș*, 92–93; S. Dufrenne, *Images du decor de la prothèse de l'église de la Vierge Péricleptos à Mistra*, *REB* 26 (1968) 299–301; Dumitrescu, *Une nouvelle datation des peintures murales de Curtea de Argeș*, 150; Simić-Lazar, *Sur une datation des fresques de l'église de Saint-Nicolas de Curtea de Argeș*, 32–33.

⁷¹ Cf. Tomić Djurić, *The man of sorrows*, 305–306.

⁷² V. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Germanus I, Patriarch of Constantinople (715–730), in: PG 98, 384B, 389B; *Protheoria* of Nicholas of Andida (late eleventh century), in: PG 140, 440 C–D; Cabasilas, *Explication de la divine liturgie*, 148; PG 150, 412D–413A; PG 155, 340A–B. Cf. Bornert, *Les commentaires*, 80–81, 122, 177, 206, 243, 261; A. L. Townsley, *Eucharistic doctrine and liturgy in late Byzantine painting*, *Oriens christianus* 58 (1974) 146–153; C. Andronikof, *Le ciel et la terre*, in: *L'église dans la liturgie*, Conférences Saint Serge, XXVI^e semaine d'études liturgiques, Roma 1980, 1–18.

⁷³ M. L.-H. Grondijs, *Croyances, doctrines et iconographies de la liturgie céleste*, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 74/1 (1962), 679–

⁶³ “ἀντι γὰρ τῆς λόγχης τῆς ἐκκεντησάσης τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἔστιν ἡ λόγχη αὕτη”, v. Laurent, *Le rituel de la proscomidie*, 127, 18–20, 23–25; 128, 51 sqq.; Cf. Kōnstantinidē, *Ο Μελισμός*, 100.

⁶⁴ N. Cabasilas, *Explication de la divine liturgie*, ed. S. Salaville, Paris 1967, 204–205 (XXXII, 14).

⁶⁵ Kōnstantinidē, *Ο Μελισμός*, 90.

⁶⁶ On the use of censers in Byzantium, v. L. Boura, *Ἐπὶ θυμιατήρια: Παλαιохριστιανικά καὶ βυζαντινὰ θυμιατήρια τοῦ Μουσείου Μπενάκη*, *Αρχαιολογία* 1 (1981) 65–70; E. Barmparitsa, *Θυμιατήρια της Ὑστερης Βυζαντινῆς περιόδου (13^{ος}–15^{ος} αἰώνας)*, in: *Ανταπόδοση. Τιμητικός τόμος για την Ε. Δεληγιάννη-Δωρή*, Athens 2010, 1–21. For the motif of censers in fresco painting v. M. Evangelatou, *The symbolism of the censer in Byzantine representations of the Dormition of the Virgin*, in: *Images of the Mother of God: perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. M. Vassilaki, Aldershot 2005, 117–125.

⁶⁷ PG 166, 264; St. Symeon of Thessalonika. *The liturgical commentaries*, 185.

⁶⁸ Kōnstantinidē, *Ο Μελισμός*, 90–91. V. also the interpretation of Symeon of Thessalonika: PG 155, 264; St. Symeon of Thessalonika.



Fig. 8. Markov Manastir, apse. Great Entrance

dency to depict the heavenly service as similar to earthly rites, which is typical of Late Byzantine painting,⁷⁴ found its full expression in the sanctuary apse of Markov Manastir. The lowest zone of this compartment shows the participants in the solemn procession of the heavenly and earthly Great Entrance,⁷⁵ designed according to the rules of the pontifical liturgy.⁷⁶ The mystical union between the heavenly and earthly Great Entrance is transposed into the image in the lowest zone of the sanctuary in order to place important theological and liturgical issues before the eyes of the celebrants.⁷⁷ This concept enables to establish a direct connection between the ritual and its image which is reflected in the complementary relationship between the static character of the fresco and the dynamic nature of the ritual.

The conceptual and compositional focus is the image of Christ the Great Archpriest (fig. 9).⁷⁸ He is depicted



Fig. 9. Markov Manastir, apse. Christ the Great Archpriest

680, 700–703; Walter, *Art and ritual*, 217–221; T. Starodubcev, *Predstava Nebeske liturgije u kupoli – prilog proučavanju*, in: *Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa*, Beograd–Kruševac 2002, 381–411.

⁷⁴ Townsley, *Eucharistic doctrine*, 146–153; Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance*, 293–310; W. T. Woodfin, *Celestial hierarchies and earthly hierarchies in the art of the Byzantine Church*, in: *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson, New York 2010, 313–315.

⁷⁵ L. Mirković, Ž. Tatić, *Markov manastir*, Beograd 1925, 31–34; Grozdanov, *Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira*, 84–87; *Markov manastir: crteži na freski*, 6–11. Cf. Ch. Walter, *La place des évêques dans le décor des absides byzantines*, *Revue de l'art* 24 (1974) 86–87; Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance*, 298–299.

⁷⁶ R. F. Taft, *The pontifical liturgy of the Great church according to a twelfth century diataxis in Codex British Museum Add. 34060*, OCP 45 (1979) 279–307; OCP 46 (1980) 89–124; M. Zheltov, *Arkhiejskii chin Bozhestvennoi liturgii: istoriia, osobennosti, sootnoshenie s ordinarnym („iereiskim“) chinom*, *Bogoslovskii sbornik* 11 (Moskva 2003) 207–240.

⁷⁷ Jolivet-Lévy, *Images des pratiques eucharistiques*, 184.

⁷⁸ On the iconography of Christ the Great Archpriest, v. V. J. Đurić, *Ravanički živopis i liturgija*, in: *Manastir Ravanica (1381–1981). Spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici*, Beograd 1981, 53–67; T. Papamastorakēs, *H μορφή του Χριστού-Μεγάλου Αρχιερέα*, *Deltion ChAE* 17 (1993–1994) 67–78; P. Kostovska, *Ikonografskata predstava na Isus Hristos „Velik Arhijerej“ vo vizantiskata umetnost od XI do XIV vek*, *Balkanoslavika* 22–24 (1995–1997) 35–57; A. Lidov, *Khristos-sviashchennik v ikonograficheskikh programmakh XI–XII vekov*, *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 55 (1994) 187–192; S. Gabelić, *On the three fourteenth century aristocratic foundations*, in: *Vizantiiskii mir: iskusstvo Konstantinopoliā i natsionalnye traditsii*, Moscow 2005, 381–383, fig. 1–2. The earliest representation of Christ the Great Archpriest has survived in the eleventh century manuscript *Σταυροῦ* 109, cf. A. Grabar, *Un rouleau liturgique*

frontally, standing behind the Holy Table surmounted by a ciborium. He is dressed in *stycharion*, a festive red *sakkos* with crosses and an *omophorion* adorned with red crosses.⁷⁹ His both arms are outstretched in blessing towards

Constantinopolitain et ses peintures, DOP 8 (1954) 163–169, 174, fig. 10. Christ the Great Archpriest began to appear in the Communion of the Apostles at the beginning of the fourteenth century, while his depictions in the Heavenly Liturgy can be found since the middle of the same century, cf. Papamastorakēs, *op. cit.*, 67–78.

⁷⁹ As evidenced by Theodore Balsamon (†1214), the liturgical use of the *sakkos* was reserved to the patriarch, cf. PG 138, col. 989A. Later, in the thirteenth century, Demetrios Chomatenos confirmed that the *sakkos* was a patriarchal vestment, which could be worn by privileged archbishops during Easter, Christmas and Pentecost, cf. PG 119, col. 949D–952A. Symeon of Thessalonike mentions that the archbishops of Cyprus, Turnovo, Ohrid and Peć were allowed to wear a *sakkos*, cf. PG 155, cols. 869D – 872B. This patriarchal vestment has been discussed by E. Piltz, *Trois sakkoi byzantins: analyse iconographique*, Stockholm 1976, 17, 19–20, and Woodfin, *The embodied icon*, 26. The earliest portrait of the Archbishop of Ohrid Constantine Cabasilas in a white *sakkos* with dark crosses can be found in the *Peribleptos*, Ohrid (1294/1295), v. C. Grozdanov, *Prilozi poznavanju srednjovekovne umetnosti Ohrida I. Portret arhiepiskopa Konstantina Kavasile u crkvi Sv. Bogorodice Perivlepte*, *ZLUMS* 2 (1966) 199–207; idem, *O Sv. Konstantinu Kavasili i njegovim portretima u svetlu novih saznanja*, 317. *Sakkos* also appears on the fresco showing the Serbian Archbishop Sava I in the Holy Virgin Ljeviška at Prizren (1308–1309), v. T. Starodubcev, *Sakos crkvenih dostojanstvenika u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, in: *Vizantijski svet na Balkanu*, 2, eds. B. Krsmanović, Lj. Maksimović, R. Radić, Beograd 2012, 523–550.

the Eucharistic gifts, which are being brought to Him, while on the Holy Table, covered with an *antimension*, two candlesticks and an open *leitourgikon* are placed; the pages of the *leitourgikon* feature the following text, inscribed in eighth rows: α β μ(or λ) <.> ς (or ο) Δ ε(or ς) τ <.> / τ <.> / <.> / β <.> λ <.> / <.> εϑη / <.> τ <.> Δ<.> Δ <.> ϑ (or ε) / <.> / <.> / . The text from the *leitourgikon* of Christ the Great Archpriest has not been published before. Its remains are now published for the first time (fig. 10).⁸⁰ Although the letters are apparently severely damaged, the possible meanings of the preserved fragments of individual words will be discussed in the second part of this paper in detail. On either side of the altar stands an angel-deacon welcoming the procession.⁸¹ Both angels are holding a candle in their right hands and waving a censer in their left hands. Prominent bishops are approaching Christ from his right side.⁸² St Basil the Great, the Bishop of Caesarea (370–379), is the first in the line. In his hands, he is holding a chalice, covered with a purple cover adorned with floral ornaments.⁸³ St John Chrysostom, the Archbishop of Constantinople (398–404), can be seen behind him; he is also holding a chalice.⁸⁴ In the background, behind them, there is an angel-deacon with two *rhypidia*.⁸⁵ On the narrow portion of the wall connecting the sanctuary apse and bema, a standing candlestick is depicted.⁸⁶ The procession continues with a figure of a bishop whose identity has not been discussed in previous studies.⁸⁷ This is an image of an old man with grey hair reaching his shoulders and brownish-grey beard of medium length, divided into two parts. On his head, he is wearing a mitre decorated with crosses; in his right hand, he is holding a long cross, while carrying a candle in his left hand. The mentioned portrait features are closest to those of the Roman Pope Sylvester (314–335, fig. 11).⁸⁸

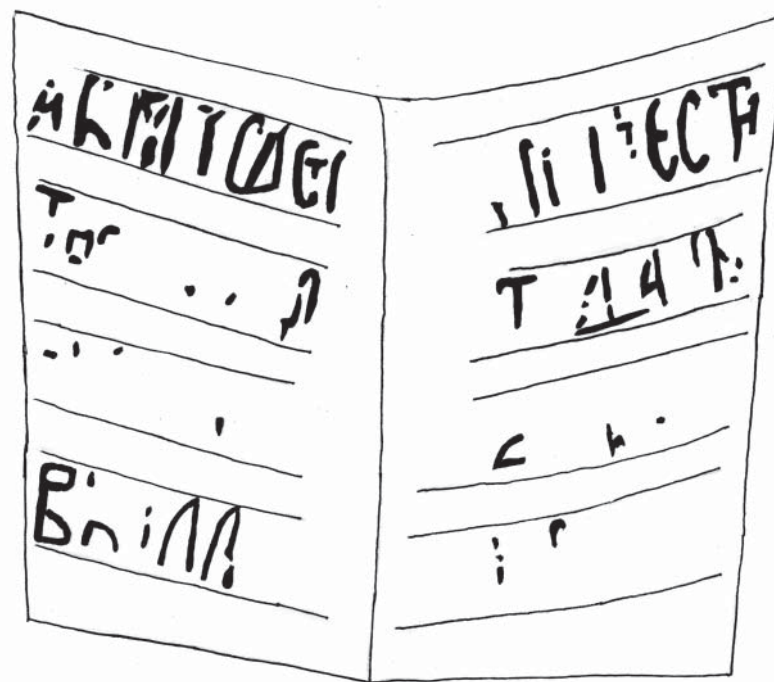


Fig. 10. Markov Manastir, inscription on the *leitourgikon*, drawing

This assumption is further corroborated by the mitre, the insignia traditionally worn by the Roman Popes,⁸⁹ which frequently appeared in depictions of St Sylvester.⁹⁰ The great reverence for him was associated with the belief that this contemporary of the first Christian rulers had baptized Emperor Constantine.⁹¹ The cross in his hand is

⁸⁰ I am indebted to Marijana Marković for her help and commentary.

⁸¹ For the opinion that angels are leading the procession, cf. Mirković, Tatić, *Markov manastir*, 32; J. D. Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient*, Brussels 1936, 68.

⁸² On the bishop's vestments, v. Woodfin, *The embodied icon*, 13–32.

⁸³ Mirković, Tatić, *Markov manastir*, 33.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Jerphanion, *La plus ancienne représentation*, 279 sqq; Papas, *Studien*, 204 sqq; Kōnstantinidē, *O Μελησιός*, 121. For the earliest surviving *rhypidion* from the Syrian town of Riha (sixth century), v. also *Holy image, hallowed ground: icons from Sinai*, eds. R. S. Nelson, K. M. Collins, Los Angeles 2006, 219, fig. 38.

⁸⁶ Standing candlesticks are habitual elements in the painted decoration of sanctuaries in Serbian churches since Studenica. The silver candlestick gifted by King Milutin to the basilica of St Nicholas in Bari gives an idea of this type of ecclesiastical furnishings used in the late thirteenth century, v. B. Miljković, *Nemanjići i Sveti Nikola u Bariju*, ZRVI 44 (2007) 281, fig. 3.

⁸⁷ Mirković, Tatić, *Markov manastir*, 33; Piltz, *Kamelaukion et mitra*, fig. 174.

⁸⁸ On the celebration of the feast of Pope Sylvester in the Church of Constantinople, v. *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad AASS Novembris*, ed. C. Delehaye, Brussels 1902, 365. Variations in the iconography of St Sylvester are chiefly related to the length of his hair and beard. The portrait of this Roman Pope appears among concelebrating bishops in a number of fourteenth and fifteenth century churches: St Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike; the churches of St Saviour, St Blasios and St Paraskeve in Veroia (cf. Gersel, *Beholding the sacred mysteries*, 105–110); the church of Sts Joachim and Anne in Studenica (cf. G. Babić, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici*, Beograd 1987, fig. 84); Gornji Kozjak; Bela Crkva of Karan; Ljuboten; Les-

novo (cf. I. Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele u doba Nemanjića*, Beograd 1994, 139, 142, 146; S. Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo: istorija i slikarstvo*, Beograd 1998, 70, fig.17); Staro Nagoričino (cf. B. Todić, *Staro Nagoričino*, Beograd 1993, 71); the church of the Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid (cf. M. Marković, *Ikonoграфски програм najstarijeg živopisa crkve Bogorodice Perivlepte u Ohridu – popis fresaka i beleške o pojedinim programskim osobenostima*, Zograf 35 (2011) 121, n. 31); Dečani (cf. V. R. Petković, *Manastir Dečani*, 2, Beograd 1941, 28, pl. CCII); the Latin church in Prokuplje (cf. D. Tasić, *Živopis srednjovekovne crkve u Prokuplju*, ZLUMS 3 (1967) 114, fig. 3); the cave church of St Lazarus in Tikveš (cf. B. Babić, *Pećinska crkva Svetog Lazara u Tikvešu*, ZLUMS 3 (1967) 162–163, fig.1); in Matejič (cf. Dimitrova, *Manastir Matejče*, 107, fig. 17, drawing III, 33); in Manasija (cf. Kōnstantinidē, *O Μελησιός*, 215, LXXXII, fig. 267). I am thankful to Miloš Živković for his commentary on this problem.

⁸⁹ According to Theodore Balsamon (PG 137, col. 488; PG 119, col. 1177) and Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155, cols. 716C–717B) only the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Pope of Rome were permitted to wear the mitra, v. Walter, *Art and ritual*, 103–108; Piltz, *Kamelaukion et mitra*, 54–55; Woodfin, *The embodied icon*, 28–29. In the late fourteenth century, the prelates of the Roman Catholic Church were depicted with mitras in fresco cycles showing Ecumenical Councils, cf. for Kozia, Roumania: Ch. Walter, *Les conciles oecuméniques. L'iconographie*, Paris 1969, 97, figs. 50–51. During the fourteenth century, St Sylvester was more often depicted wearing a mitra than other popes of Rome, as noted by P. Guran, *Nouveau Constantin, nouveau Silvestre*, in: *Les cultes des saints souverains et des saints guerriers et l'idéologie du pouvoir en Europe Centrale et Orientale*, eds. I. Biliarsky, R. G. Paun, Bucharest 2007, 138–139, 141. This can be explained by the popularity of the political idea of the *Donation of Constantine* in the ecclesiastical and political context in the Late Byzantine period, cf. *ibidem*.

⁹⁰ St Sylvester was depicted with the liturgical headdress in Lesnovo; St Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike; the church of Sts Joachim and Anne in Studenica; Manasija.

⁹¹ A. Kazhdan, *Constantine Imaginaire: Byzantine legends of the ninth century about Constantine the Great*, Byzantion 57 (1987)

readily recognized as one of the objects carried in the procession of the Great Entrance⁹² which was sometimes depicted in representations of this rite.⁹³ This supplements the idea of the parallelism between the transfer of the Holy Gifts from the prothesis to the sanctuary and the funeral procession of Jesus Christ.⁹⁴ The next bishop in the line is St Gregory the Theologian (379–381), a bald man with a wide grey beard. Next to this figure, a fragment of an inscription has survived: <...> ρηε.. The Gospel Book in his hands indicates that he is a participant in the solemn procession.⁹⁵ Behind the third and fourth bishops, there is an angel-deacon waving two *rhipidia* inscribed with the word αἰνός. St Cyril of Alexandria is depicted on the front side of the wall between the prothesis and the sanctuary apse.⁹⁶ He faces the altar and is holding a scroll, which used to feature the now missing text from a prayer. The most peculiar element of his bishop's attire is the tear-shaped *epigonation* with an image of Christ.⁹⁷ The choice of bishops to be depicted and their place in the procession are in accord with their reputation in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Therefore, quite expectedly, St Basil the Great and St John Chrysostom are the closest to the Holy Table.⁹⁸

On the left side, Jesus Christ is approached by a procession of celebrant angels.⁹⁹ Two angel-deacons are wearing on their head a red cloth falling over their shoulders, while behind them, in the background, there is an angel-deacon holding two *rhipidia*. They are followed by an angel-deacon who carries a covered paten on his head, and, behind him, an angel-priest with a large chalice. As in the previous segment, an angel deacon with *rhipidia* is inserted between them. At the rear of the procession, there is an angel-deacon carrying a ewer with water and a basin.¹⁰⁰

196–250. On the significance of the legend from the ninth century onward, v. I. Kalavrezou, N. Trahoulia, S. Sabar, *Critique of the Emperor in the Vatican Psalter Gr. 752*, DOP 47 (1993) 212–218.

⁹² Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 208.

⁹³ Such an example is an angel-deacon holding a similar slender cross in the procession of the Heavenly Great Entrance in the church of Sts Constantine and Helena, Ohrid, v. G. Subotić, *Sveti Konstantin i Jelena u Ohridu*, Beograd 1971 (drawings of the frescoes D. Todorović, 3B). Cf. also the depiction of the cross in the hands of one of the co-officiating bishops in the sanctuary in Donja Kamenica, M. Ćorović-Ljubinković, R. Ljubinković, *Crkva u Donjoj Kamenici*, Starinar 1 (1950) 56.

⁹⁴ The funeral symbolism of the Great Entrance procession is expressed through a lance and a sponge, which sometimes find place in iconography, e.g. the Heavenly Great Entrance in the church of Sts Constantine and Helena, Ohrid, v. Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 208, n. 104.

⁹⁵ On the practice of carrying a closed codex in the Great Entrance procession, v. Starodubcev, *Predstava Nebeske liturgije*, 401.

⁹⁶ In addition to facial features, this holy bishop is also recognizable by his mitra, v. Walter, *Art and ritual*, 104–107; Piltz, *Kamelaukion et mitra*, 54–55, figs. 165–168.

⁹⁷ For this bishop's insignia, v. Woodfin, *The embodied icon*, 17–18. *Epigonatia* occasionally had figural decoration, e.g. St Leo, Pope of Rome, in the church of Peribleptos, Mistra; and St Clement in the church of Peribleptos, Ohrid, cf. Gerstel, *Beholding the sacred mysteries*, fig. 71; C. Grozdanov, *Pojava i prodor portreta Klimenta Ohridskog u srednjovekovnoj umetnosti*, ZLUMS 3 (1967) fig. 7.

⁹⁸ For the arrangement, selection and combinations of the portraits of Church fathers in the lower register of the sanctuary v. Kōnstantinidē, *O Μελισμός*, 132–143, esp. 132–133, 138.

⁹⁹ For a detailed description of this section of the scene see Mirković, Tatić, *Markov manastir*, 31–32.

¹⁰⁰ A ewer of water and a basin are depicted in the celestial Great Entrance in Dečani, cf. B. Todić, M. Čanak-Medić, *Manastir Dečani*, Beograd 2005, fig. 259.



Fig. 11. Markov Manastir. St Sylvester, Roman Pope

The lavabo is another element confirming that the heavenly Great Entrance was inspired by the pontifical liturgy.¹⁰¹ The analysis of the relationship between the rite and the fresco in Markov Manastir reveals an association with the Constantinopolitan patriarchal liturgy: unlike previous collections of rubrics, the *Diataxis* of Dimitrios Gemistos foresaw a large number of believers for Communion in the church of St Sophia and it provided for a number of chalices and the con-celebration of several bishops.¹⁰²

The Great Entrance and the Officiating Bishops in the sanctuary: examples from the Balkans and Greece

In order to thoroughly explain the topic discussed in this paper, we will briefly draw attention to the changes in the thematic content of the sanctuaries in Byzantine churches which were an iconographic and conceptual precondition for the emergence of the heavenly Great

¹⁰¹ Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 163–177; Zheltov, *Arkhieiskii chin*, 218.

¹⁰² A. A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei, khranishchikh v bibliotekakh Pravoslavnogo Vostoka*, 2. Εὐχολόγια, Kiev 1901, 301–320; Rentel, *The origins*, 377.



Fig. 12. The Virgin Gouverniotissa at Potamies, Crete, sanctuary. The Great Entrance (photo: L. Fundić)

Entrance in the sanctuary. In the Byzantine liturgical tradition, a symbolic link was established between deacons and angels.¹⁰³ Accordingly, members of the heavenly hierarchy were garbed in the form and were assigned the role of earthly celebrants. They began to appear in Eucharistic scenes: in the Communion of the Apostles since the eleventh century;¹⁰⁴ and next to the Holy Table in the scene showing officiating bishops in the sanctuary since the end of the twelfth century.¹⁰⁵

The appearance of angels resulted in a significant change in the iconography of liturgical themes.¹⁰⁶ The change contained the germ of the idea of the intertwining and the union between heavenly and earthly rites, and this idea would be even more pronounced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with the introduction

¹⁰³ The liturgical commemoration of the ranks of angels is done during the prothesis rite, Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι*, 3, 43; 45, 74; Laurent, *Le rituel de la procomide*, 129. A detailed study on this problem has been published by S. D. Muretov, *O pomimovennii Besplotnykh sil na proskomidii*, Moskva 1897. For the association of deacons with angels in mystagogical commentaries, v. Sallavile, Nowack, *Le rôle du diacre*, 34–35; Trempelas, *op. cit.*, 6, 83, Woodfin, *The embodied icon*, 188–190. On the role of the deacon in the Great Entrance, v. Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 206–210, 213. On images of angel-deacons in the Divine Liturgy, v. Starodubcev, *Predstava Nebeske liturgije*, 399–403.

¹⁰⁴ Angel-deacons holding *rhypidia* emerged in monumental painting in the Communion of the Apostles as early as the eleventh century. For the church of St Sophia, Ohrid, v. S. Radojčić, *Prilozi za istoriju najstarijeg ohridskog živopisa*, ZRVI 8/2 (1964) 360; and St. Sophia, Kiev (1043–1046), v. V. N. Lazarev, *Mozaiki Sofii Kievskoj*, Moskva 1960, fig. 33, 34. Angel-deacons also appeared in Eucharistic scenes in miniatures roughly contemporary to the churches of St Sophia in Ohrid and Kiev. V. the liturgical manuscript *Σταυροῦ* 109, Grabar, *Un rouleau liturgique*, 163–169, 174, fig. 10.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. Bezirana Kilise and Belisirma in Cappadocia, where a pair of angel-deacons are turned toward the altar, J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Une église inédite de la fin du XII^e siècle en Cappadoce: La Bezirama Kilisesi dans la vallée de Belisima*, BZ 61/2 (1968) 296. The earliest example from the Palaiologan period is preserved in the church of St Nicholas in Manastir (1271). For the iconography of angel-deacons in Eucharistic themes in the sanctuary v. Kōnstantinidē, *O Μελισμός*, 117–124; Altripp, *Die Prothesis*, 109–111.

¹⁰⁶ V. Kepetzi, *Tradition iconographique et création iconographique dans une scène de Communion*, JÖB 32/5 (1982) 443–451; Walter, *Art and ritual*, 195, n. 149. Cf. also M. Lee Coulson, *Old wine in new pitchers: some thoughts on depictions of the chalice in the Communion of the Apostles*, in: ΛΑΜΠΗΔΩΝ. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη της Ντούλας Μουρίκη, 1, ed. M. Aspra-Bardabake, Athens 2003, 148.



Fig. 13. St John the Evangelist, Limnes Mirabello, Crete. Angel-deacon (after Kepetzi, *Ho naos tou Agiou Georgiou*)

of angels-priests.¹⁰⁷ The same idea is highlighted in the concept of the liturgical space in the doctrine of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonike, according to which the sanctuary was a space for angels and officiating priests.¹⁰⁸ The image of Archdeacon Stephen, who takes part in the liturgy together with heavenly deacons, shows that the relationship between the ‘heavenly’ and ‘earthly’ elements in

¹⁰⁷ Angels as priests in the Heavenly Liturgy first appeared in monumental painting in Dečani, cf. Todić, Čanak-Medić, *Manastir Dečani*, 337.

¹⁰⁸ X. Werner, *L’espace liturgique d’après S. Siméon de Thessalonique (1416–1429)*, in: *L’espace liturgique: ses éléments constitutifs et leur sens* (Conférences Saint Serge. LII^e semaine d’études liturgiques, Paris 27–30 Juin 2005), ed. C. Braga, Roma 2006, 113.

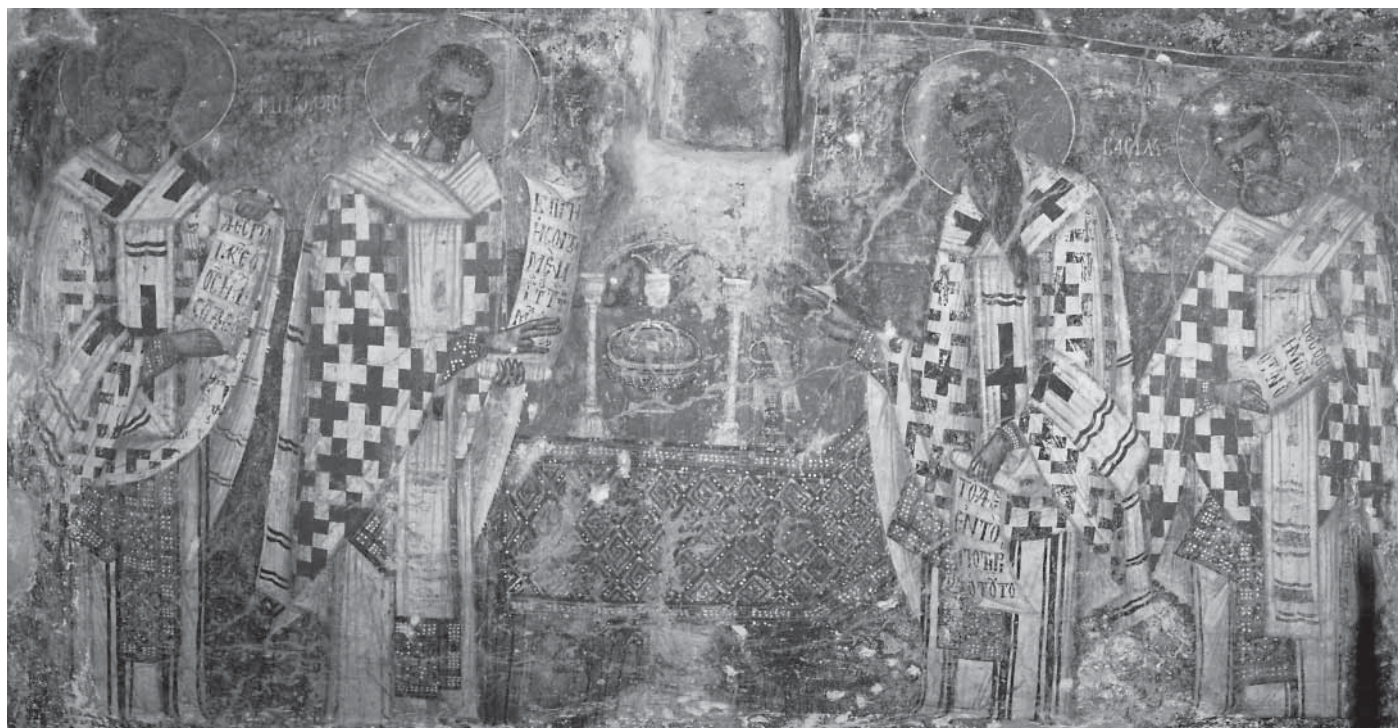


Fig. 14. Holy Trinity at Agia Triada, Rethymnon Province, Crete. Officiating bishops (photo: L. Fundić)

the iconographic programme of the sanctuary was carefully designed.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, the most prominent part of the Heavenly Liturgy – the procession of the Great Entrance in the dome, began to turn into an independent theme.¹⁰⁹ This process was accompanied by certain changes, which primarily had to do with the place of the scene. The procession of the Great Entrance began to appear in different parts of the church, most commonly in the sanctuary, very close to the representation of officiating bishops. The fusion and combination of elements of the two themes – the Heavenly Liturgy and the Officiating Bishops, resulted in a scene whose iconographic language was a direct expression of Byzantine liturgists' interpretations of the unity between the two churches and the simultaneous occurrence of the liturgy in heaven and earth.¹¹⁰ There are a few examples which date from the second half of the fourteenth and

the fifteenth century¹¹¹ in the territory of the Balkans (St Demetrios in Tarnovo),¹¹² Crete [St. George at Agios Georgios outside Malles, Hierapatra,¹¹³ the Virgin Gouverniotissa at Potamies (fig. 12),¹¹⁴ St John the Evangelist,

¹¹¹ A depiction of the Great Entrance in the sanctuary can be found in monumental painting of later periods, e.g. the church of the Nativity of Christ in Arbanasi, Bulgaria, v. L. Prashkov, *Tsŭrkvata Rozhdestvo Khristovo v Arbanasi*, Sofiia 1979, 63, drawing 53.

¹¹² In the sanctuary of the church of St Demetrios in Tarnovo, dated to the second half of the fourteenth century, the Great Entrance is divided into two panels. Bishops are found high on the north and south walls of the bema, while angels clad in deacon's garment are located in the second register of the sanctuary apse. Both parts of the procession are heading towards the altar in the centre of the scene, cf. L. N. Mavrodinova, *Stennata zhivopis v Bŭlgariia do kraia na XIV vek*, Sofiia 1995, 69–70, figs. 114–115; V. J. Đurić, *Mali grad – Sveti Atanasije u Kastoriji – Borje*, Zograf 6 (1975) 31–50. Portrayals of four striding deacons have also survived on the columns of the sanctuary in the church of St Nicholas in Kyustendil, Bulgaria (XII–XIV c.). As rightly pointed out by Mavrodinova, though the figures of deacons are shown in motion, the liturgical objects in their hands, censers and *arthophoria*, do not convince us that the depicted procession is the Great Entrance, *ibid.*, 32–33, figs. 12, 13.

¹¹³ The frescoes which probably date to the middle of the fourteenth century depict the earthly Great Entrance procession, judging by the badly preserved figures of striding deacons without wings, carrying consecrated vessels and liturgical objects, cf. Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance*, 304, fig. 19; *idem*, *Byzantine wall paintings*, 32–33.

¹¹⁴ The frescoes of the church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa, Potamies, Herakleion province have been dated differently: to the second and third quarters of the fourteenth century, cf. M. Chatzidakis, *Rapports entre la peinture de la Macédoine et la Crète au XIV^e siècle*, in: Περραγμένα του Θ' Διεθνούς Βυζαντινολογικού Συνεδρίου, Athens 1955, 136–148; Galas, Wessel, Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, 408–410, fig. 31, 65, 381–382; M. Vassilakis-Mavrakakis, *The Church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa at Potamies, Crete*, London 1986 (unpublished PhD dissertation), 142–145. The similarities with the Great Entrance at Markov Manastir have been observed by Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance*, 299–300. Cf. also V. Kepetzē, *Ο ναός του Αγίου Γεωργίου στα Φούτια της Επιδαύρου Λιμνής και ιδιόμορφη περάσταση από τη Θεία Λειτουργία*, in: *Αντίφωνο. Αφιέρωμα στον καθηγητή Ν. Β. Δρανδάκη*, Thessalonikē 1994, 520, n. 60. The lower register of the sanctuary is occupied with Church fathers and angel-deacons as assembled

¹⁰⁹ For the iconography of the Great Entrance, v. Starodubcev, *Predstava Nebeske liturgije*, 381–411; Stefanescu, *L'illustration des liturgies*, 71–77, 189–191; Walter, *Art and ritual*, 217–221; Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance*, 293, n. 2; C. Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst der Späten Palaiologenzeit auf Kreta: Kloster Brontisi im Spannungsfeld zwischen Konstantinopel und Venedig*, Leiden 2011, 80–93; Grabar, *Un rouleau liturgique*, 163–169, 174, fig. 10; Kepetzis, *Tradition iconographique*, 443–451. For the development of the Transfer of the Holy Gifts, v. Taft, *The Great Entrance*; G. Dix, *The shape of the liturgy*, London 1975, 284, 290–291, 448, 483; Bornert, *Les commentaires*, 239–243, 259–262; Grondijs, *Croyances*, 679–680, 700–703.

¹¹⁰ Bornert, *Les commentaires*, 78, 80–81, 122, 176–178, 206, 242–243, 261; Andronikof, *Le ciel et la terre*, 1–18. For these theological interpretations in monumental painting, v. H.-J. Schulz, *Die Eucharistiefeier im Spiegel der byzantinischen ikonographie*, *Der christliche Osten* 37/5 (1982) 121–122; Đurić, *Ravanički živopis i liturgija*, 53–60, 62–65; T. Starodubcev, *Pričešće apostola u Ravanici*, Zograf 24 (1995) 53–59.



Fig. 15. Holy Trinity at Agia Triada, Rethymnon Province, Crete. Angel-deacon and unworthy priest (photo: L. Fundić)

Limnes Mirabello (fig. 13),¹¹⁵ the Archangel Michael at Kakodiki, Selino, Chania,¹¹⁶ Holy Trinity at Agia Triada,

concelebrants. Angels carrying the Eucharistic gifts, only two of which have survived in the north half of the apse, proceed towards the altar in the centre of the scene. They are followed by bishops painted on the lateral walls of the sanctuary. The only surviving portrait of a bishop on the north wall is St Basil. St John Chrysostom, St Gregory the Theologian and St Cyril of Alexandria are placed on the south wall. The figure of Archdeacon Stephen occupies the southern pier of the conch. He is represented in knee-length view and he is dressed in the deacon's vestments.

¹¹⁵ Only one angel-deacon has been preserved in the prothesis. He is shown with the chalice and the paten. For a discussion regarding the dating to the third quarter of the fourteenth century and a detailed description of the fresco, v. Kepetzē, *Ο ναός του Αγίου Γεωργίου*, 521.

¹¹⁶ These frescoes, dated to the last decades of the fourteenth century, introduced a new iconographic theme, which reveals regional preferences in the sanctuary programmes. The angel-deacon carrying both the chalice and the paten is depicted as striding over a figure in proskynesis, which represents the *Unworthy priest*. The association with the Great Entrance is evident in the figure of the angel-deacon carrying the Eucha-



Fig. 16. St Phanourios at Valsamonero. The Great Entrance (after Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst*)

in the Rethymnon Province (figs. 14 and 15),¹¹⁷ St Anthony in the monastery of Vrontisi,¹¹⁸ the monastery of St Phanourios at Valsamonero (fig. 16),¹¹⁹ and the Peloponnesus [St George at Foutia (fig. 17),¹²⁰ Pantanassa in Mystras].¹²¹ These scenes are marked by a great icono-

ristic gifts, cf. V. Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki: Werkstattgruppen, kunst und kulturhistorische Analyse byzantinischer Wandmalerei des 14. Jhs. auf Kreta*, Wien 2012, 156–159, Abb. 186.

¹¹⁷ The frescoes are dated to the beginning of the fifteenth century. The iconography of the Great Entrance also includes the angel-deacon with the Eucharistic gifts and the *Unworthy priest*, cf. Spatharakis, *Byzantine wall paintings*, 10–11, 29–37, fig. 6; idem, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του ναού της Αγ. Τριάδας στο ομώνυμο χωριό του νομού Ρεθύμνου και οι εικονογραφικές ιδιαιτερότητες τους*, in: Αντίφωνον: αφιέρωμα στον καθηγητή Ν. Β. Δρανδάκη, Θεσσαλονίκη 1994, 286–295, figs. 7–10.

¹¹⁸ The frescoes in the church of St Anthony at Vrontisi, Kainurio, Herakleion province, have been dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The Great Entrance was depicted in two panels at the upper part of the barrel-vault of the apse. Among the four angels in the procession on the north wall who are carrying liturgical objects, an angel-priest with both consecrated vessels, the holy bread and vine, appears as an exceptional figure. The procession on the south panel is led by an angel-deacon holding candlesticks, followed by three angels carrying the *aër* with the image of the deceased Christ on their heads. V. Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance*, 293–296; Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst*, 80–93, figs. 21–24.

¹¹⁹ The Great Entrance was depicted in the prothesis of the church dedicated to the Holy Virgin at the end of the fourteenth century and later, in 1431, in the apse of the narthex dedicated to St Phanourios. In the latter example, the procession of angels clad in deacon's and priest's vestments is moving toward Christ the Great Archpriest, depicted standing in front of the altar, blessing with his right hand and holding a closed codex in the left V. M. Chatzēdakēs, *Τοιχογραφίες στην Κρήτη*, Κρητικά Χρονικά 6 (1952) 72–75; K. D. Kalokyres, *Αι Βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι της Κρήτης*, Athens 1957, 97; Galas, Wessel, Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, 62, 118, 126–127, 139, 143, 262, 280, 313–321, 394, 397, 410, figs. 95, 110–111, 275–281; Bissinger, *Kreta*, 122, 181, 231; Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance*, 300–301; idem, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του ναού*, 290–291, figs. 15–16; Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst*, 80–93, fig. 120–122, 124–125.

¹²⁰ Kepetzē, *Ο ναός του Αγίου Γεωργίου*, 508–530.

¹²¹ The celebrant angels are located in the niches in the upper sections of the lateral walls of the sanctuary, while Christ the Great Archpriest is depicted below them. The southern part of the procession is moving toward the apse, while the one on the north side is progressing in the opposite direction. The original fresco layer from 1428 was over-painted in the seventeenth century, v. S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra*, Paris 1970, pl. XIV 22–23,

graphic sophistication and changing elements of composition. The expected Eucharistic messages partly reflect the local context of liturgical practices.¹²² The most important relationship within this specific iconographic ensemble is that between the figures of bishops and angels. In some instances, these two groups are not coordinated¹²³ and they may be described as depictions of two different moments in the liturgy,¹²⁴ whereas other examples reveal an intention to create a unified composition.¹²⁵ A short overview of the frescoes depicting the Great Entrance shows that the theological idea of the unity of the liturgies enacted in heaven and earth found its most consistent expression in the frescoes in Markov Manastir, after which comes the church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa. It is not only that the text of the Cherubic Prayer inscribed on the scroll carried by Gregory of Nyssa and St Basil the Great bears reference to the Great Entrance,¹²⁶ but this meaning is also highlighted by the fact that the angels concelebrant together with the most eminent bishops, such as Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Sylvester of Rome and Gregory the Theologian, take part in the procession.¹²⁷

The inclusion of the Great Entrance into the programme of the lower register in the sanctuary can certainly be brought into relationship with the rising popularity of the procession among lay worshippers at that time. The solemn procession that was enacted before their eyes was to them the central event in the Divine Liturgy.¹²⁸ Being the only segment of the rite performed outside the sanctuary, it enabled a direct contact between believers and the Eucharistic gifts. The objects that were carried along with bread and wine also made an impression on worshippers' senses. The waving *rhipidia*, the image of the deceased Saviour on the *epitaphios*, the smell of incense coming



Fig. 17. St George at Foutia, Peloponnesus. Angel-priest, drawing (after Kepetzī, *Ho naos tou Agiou Georgiou*)

figs. 38–40. Based on the place of the depiction of the Great Entrance Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance*, 305, observed a similarity with the scene at Markov Manastir. Cf. also M. Aspra-Vardavakē, M. Emmanouēl, *H Movī tēs Pantānassas ston Mystērā. Oī toichograpfiēs tou 15ou aiōna*, Athens 2005, 63, fig. 23.

¹²² E.g. angel-deacons and angel-priests with the chalice and the paten which can be found on Crete and the Peloponnese. Such images should be interpreted as an expression of the continuity of an old liturgical tradition in these regions, especially if we have in mind that the codification of the rite in Philotheos' *Diataxis* stipulated that a priest carried the chalice and a deacon the paten, cf. Spatharakis, *Byzantine wall paintings*, 30–35; idem, *Oī toichograpfiēs tou naou*, 286–292; idem, *Representations of the Great Entrance*, 294–295; Kepetzē, *O naos tou Ayiou Ieoryiou*, 522; Ranoutsaki, *Die Kunst*, 91–92.

¹²³ This is most probably the reason why the Great Entrance was very often labelled as the Divine Liturgy, despite the presence of Church fathers, cf. Vassilakis-Mavrakakis, *The Church*, 142–143, figs. 91, 93; Kepetzē, *O naos tou Ayiou Ieoryiou*, 517–518; Jolivet-Lévy, *Images des pratiques eucharistiques*, 197.

¹²⁴ Such an example can be found in the church of St George, Foutia, Peloponnese, where the central group dated to the late fourteenth century which includes an angel-priest carrying both Eucharistic vessels and angel-deacons with *rhipidia* is associated with the *Anaphora*, while St Basil displays the Prothesis prayer, cf. Kepetzē, *O naos tou Ayiou Ieoryiou*, 517–518. For the text of the inscribed prayer v. Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι*, 17; Brightman, *Liturgies* 1, 309,8; Babić, Walter, *The inscriptions*, 270; Kōnstantinidē, *O Melismos*, 219–220.

¹²⁵ E.g. the Great Entrance in the church of the Holy Virgin Gouverniotissa, where St Basil holds the scroll inscribed with the text of the *Cherubikon*, Vassilakis-Mavrakakis, *The Church*, 143; cf. Spatharakis, *Representations of the Great Entrance*, 299–300.

¹²⁶ For the text of the prayer, v. Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι*, 71.6; Babić, Walter, *The inscriptions*, 273–275.

¹²⁷ Kepetzē, *O naos tou Ayiou Ieoryiou*, 521.

¹²⁸ Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 213–215; Jolivet-Lévy, *Images des pratiques eucharistiques*, 199; Rental, *Byzantine-Slav worship*, 292–293.

from the censers carried by deacons and the candlelight are merely some of the liturgical objects that engaged the senses of sight, hearing, smell and touch and the final experience was shaped through various sensory inputs.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ On the sensory experiences of Byzantine Christians in Byzantine religious rituals from the fourth to the fifteenth century, v. B. Casseau, *Experiencing the Sacred*, in: *Experiencing Byzantium*, eds. C. Nesbitt, M. Jackson, Farnham–Burlington 2013, 59–77. On the experience of the Divine liturgy in Byzantium v. A. Louth, *Experiencing the liturgy in Byzantium*, in: *Experiencing Byzantium*, 79–88. The role of liturgical objects in orchestrating lay experience of the divine during the Great Entrance is subject of the paper of T. Lee Hedrick, "Numerous Escort": *Liturgical Objects in Concert during the Late Byzantine Great Entrance*, which was presented on the 40th Byzantine Studies Conference. The abstract of the paper is available at: <http://maryjahariscenter.org/sponsored-sessions/40th-byzantine-studies-conference/people/>.

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Слика и обред: представа Свете евхаристије у Марковом манастиру

Марка Томић Ђурић

У најнижој зони олтара Марковог манастира дошла је до изражаја блиска веза између богослужења и сликаног програма. Не само што су прихваћене иконографске новине XIV века када је реч о евхаристијским темама већ је остварена целина која сликом и текстовима на свицима архијереја настоји да дочара след обреда током служења божанствене литургије. Централни део композиције у протезису насликан је у ниши тог простора и представља службу проскомидије. Тело умрлог Господа положено је на жртвеник – камену плочу која подсећа на његов гроб. Службу проскомидије врше тројица архијереја и један ђакон: свети Петар Александријски, Стефан Архиђакон, свети Атанасије Велики и непознати архијереј. Велики број монашких устава састављених од XII до XV века, у којима је посебан акценат на рубрикама што се одnose на проскомидију, говори о развоју и усложњавању тог обреда. Према прописаним литургијским правилима, обред обављају јереј и ђакон, што је на одговарајући начин представљено у ниши протезиса Марковог манастира. Поређење с другим примерима исте теме показује да њих одликује посебно наглашен реализам, својствен евхаристијским темама сликарства Палеолога. Композиција у Марковом манастиру разликује се од других примера Службе проскомидије (Љуботен, Матеич, Свети Пантелејмон у месту Бизаријано, Свети Фотије у месту Агија и Свети Јован Претеча у месту Аксо на Криту) по присуству фигуре архиђакона и Христа Агнеца који је представљен као умрли Спаситељ, зреле доби, затворених очију. Уочава се тематска и иконографска блискост са богослужбеном тканином с ликом умрлог Христа, која се у литургијским изворима, типцима и иконографској грађи среће под називом *велики воздух* (*ἀήρ*) и *илаишћаница* (*επιτάφιος*), а чија је богослужбена улога везана за пренос часних дарова током великог входа, док је у познијем периоду служила и за симболичну погребну процесију Христову на Велики петак. Символизам садржан у литургијском богословљу уобличио је схватање о чину проскомидије као литургијском сећању на Христово рођење и смрт. Стога је одговарајућа симболика Христовог погребња у основи тумачења великог воздуха, којим се прекривају часни дарови. Када је реч о бројним иконографским темама у чијој је основи литургијско-символична представа умрлог Христа, занимљиво је поменути да су поједина решења великог воздуха из познијег периода као инспирацију имала управо обред проскомидије (Свети Јован Богослов на Патмосу, XV век; Ивиرون, Света Гора Атонска (1613/1614); Свети Јован Рилски, XVII век).

Богословско учење о упоредном одвијању небеске и земаљске литургије, које је присутно у тумачењима литургије од VIII па све до XV века, свој ликовни израз нашло је у представи Великог входа. Идејно и композиционо средиште је лик Христа Великог архијереја. Са десне стране Христу прилазе истакнути архијереји цркве, са путиром у рукама: Василије Велики и Јован Златоусти. Поворка се наставља фигуром архијереја, који на глави има митру украшену крстовима, а у десној руци држи дугачки крст. Његове портретске карактеристике најпре би одговарале лику римског папе Силвестра (314–335). Следећи архијереј у низу јесте Григорије Богослов. На чеonoј страни зида између протезиса и олтарске апсиде налази се фигура Кирила Александријског. Са леве стране Христу прилази поворка анђела служитеља који приносе часне дарове, као и пратеће литургијске предмете: велики воздух, рипиде, леген и кондир.

У другој половини XIV века долази до својеврсног осамостаљивања најистакнутијег дела композиције Небеске литургије у куполи – поворке Великог входа. Овај процес прате и одређене промене које се, пре свега, односе на место композиције. Поворка Великог входа почиње да се слика у различитим просторима храма, најчешће у олтару, у непосредној близини Литургијске службе архијереја. Спајањем и мешањем елемената две теме, Небеске литургије и Литургијске службе архијереја, настаје композиција чији иконографски језик непосредно исказује тумачења византијских литургичара о јединству двеју цркава и упоредном одвијању литургије на небу и на земљи. Невелики број примера настао је током друге половине XIV века и у XV веку на територији Балкана (Свети Димитрије у Трнову), Крита (Свети Ђорђе, Агиос Георгиос, Малес; Богородица Гуверниотиса; Свети Јован Јеванђелиста, Лимнес Мирабелу; Свети арханђел Михаило, Какодики; Света Тројица у области Ретимно; Свети Антоније манастира Вронтиси; Свети Антоније у манастиру Валсамонеро) и Пелопонеза (Свети Ђорђе у Футију, Пантанаса у Мистри). Коначно, сликање Великог входа у најнижој зони олтара може се довести у везу с популарношћу самог обреда у XIV веку. Свечана поворка која се одвијала пред очима верних за њих је значила централни део божанствене литургије. Као једини сегмент евхаристије који се одвијао изван простора олтара, велики вход је омогућавао непосредан контакт верника и евхаристијских дарова.